

Antiquity

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Editorial Notes

SINCE the war ended remarkable things have been happening across the Atlantic, almost unnoticed here. The Department of Anthropology in the University of Chicago has instituted a course of instruction in anthropology which in boldness of sweep far surpasses anything of the kind previously attempted—covering nothing less than the history of man and of civilization. The course is accompanied by mimeographed books, the Syllabus itself and two fat volumes of Selected Readings. Last and more important of all is a series of specially printed maps. We received all these publications quite a long time ago, and we apologize both to the authors and to our readers for the delay in noticing them. That has not been caused by any lack of interest, but rather by the somewhat overwhelming effect produced by them. They are not the sort of things one can read through at a sitting and of course are not produced for that purpose, but as educational aids. They represent the culminating point of a process which began with the birth of anthropology itself as a branch of science. The unit of study is not national or racial but human. Anthropologists have always claimed as much for their field, but their practice, in education, has often lagged behind their precepts.

Summarizing in our own words the scope of the Syllabus as outlined in the Introduction we may say that it is concerned with the development of our species and its varieties out of more generalized primate ancestors; the invention, spread, and modification of tools and social institutions; and the addition to early culture of those more complex techniques and institutions which make up what we call civilization. Anthropologists, working along several different lines, have arrived at conclusions about the time, place and cause of these events. The course is concerned with these conclusions—both those which are well established and those which are only hypothetical—and with the methods by which they have been attained. These methods are those disciplines generally labelled physical anthropology, archaeology, linguistics, ethnology, and social anthropology.

The outlook is essentially modern—that is to say, students are required to familiarize themselves with the results of the best recent work in each subject. That means in practice that they must read those books in which the discoveries—i.e. facts, not theories—of recent years are described. Amongst books which are basic and to be read right through are prescribed Professor Gordon Childe's *What happened in History* (1942), Dr Grahame Clark's *Archaeology and Society* (1939) and Professor Daryll Forde's *Habitat, Economy and Society* (1934). Of fundamental importance is the transition from hunting and collecting to food production. Due regard is paid to the influence of environment. The attitude to the old controversy about the respective rôles of race and culture is admirably objective, even to the extent of reprinting amongst the Selected

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Readings (Series I) a chapter from the arch-heretic Gobineau, one of the cultural ancestors of Nazi racial delusions.

These Selected Readings form a most useful adjunct to the Syllabus. Neither of these volumes, it is stated, is properly a 'source book'. They are simply collections of those items of basic readings referred to in the Syllabus that are not available in any other form in numbers sufficient for student needs. The difference between Series I and II is that the first volume contains lithographical reproductions of printed articles, while most of those in II have never been printed. All the articles are very well worth reading, and in reprinting them the University has earned the gratitude of others besides those for whom they were primarily intended.

The maps are original creations of the first rank. Being the first of their kind they will be developed and improved and these attempts may one day be looked back upon as crude and primitive. They may contain errors which future research will eliminate. In other words they will suffer as all pioneer work suffers when others (who are not pioneers) improve it and when its pristine originality is forgotten. There are three. The first is a useful index-map (scale about $1/7\frac{1}{2}$ M) of 'important sites in the range of the earliest village cultures from the Aegean to the Indus'; it is clear and adequate, but calls for no special comment. The second (about $1/36$ M) covers the Old World and shows the spread of the food-producing economy from five possible independent centres. The date at which food-production first appeared is shown by isochronic lines. These are an ingenious invention which show 'equal dates' exactly as contours show equal heights and isobars equal pressure. The five centres are (1) Near Eastern (c. 7000 B.C.) extending from Egypt round the Fertile Crescent to Iran: (2) North West African, whose existence (c. 4000 B.C.) is still hypothetical: (3) Chinese (c. 3500 B.C.): (4) Indian (c. 2500 B.C.): (5) Malaysian (c. 2000 B.C.). While all competent authorities will agree that the practice of producing food (instead of catching or collecting it ready-made) must have spread in some such way as this map shows, there will be differences of opinion about routes, dates, and centres. These irregularities will be ironed out by the scientific excavation of key-sites in Asia and Africa. We expect for instance that the bulge made by the isochrones to include Anau and no more is largely artificial, due to the accident that Anau is the most easterly site here that has been properly excavated; and that it will eventually be extended much further east to include the rich riverain and deltaic regions of Tejen and Merv. In this piedmont—itsself bigger than ancient Mesopotamia—a French map marks dozens of *tells* (here called *tepis*), none of which has ever been excavated. At the eastern end lies Balkh. It is quite the most promising virgin region left anywhere in the world.

The third is a sequence of twelve maps of the whole world, on three sheets of paper; it is called 'Time, Space and Man', and shows the world from 225,000 years ago, the time of the most extensive pleistocene glaciation, to A.D. 1900—optimistically called 'One World'. The physical background indicates glaciers and deserts. Areas occupied by food-collectors and food-producers are distinguished by appropriate symbols. Others are used to show loose trading integration, centres of political power, centres of intellectual aesthetic achievement and centres of both. The limits of empires are marked by an enclosing line (adapted for overseas empires). Highly industrialized areas are shown by cross-hatching. In the margin is a short article posing certain questions which the

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maps do not answer, but for the solution of which they provide some of the data. We should have liked (granted the necessary permission) to have reprinted the whole of this article, but the latter part would have been unintelligible without the maps themselves which for technical reasons alone we could not attempt to reproduce. The descriptive text will be found on pages 77 to 90 of the Syllabus (Part I). Interspersed throughout the Syllabus are references to the best that has been written on each period, region and aspect; and it concludes with a bibliography of 27 pages, in which we are pleased to find many articles which have appeared in *ANTIQUITY*. The books and articles written by Professor Gordon Childe and Dr Grahame Clark occupy nearly a whole page.

Such is the scope and content of this course. Those who have mastered it may claim to be well educated in the most modern and enlightened sense, for there are few aspects of human culture that are not touched if only tangentially. A rather surprising lacuna is religion, another is the tangled skein of kinship, exogamy and the like. But we should be the last to deplore such omissions. More serious is the absence in the bibliography of such names as Schliemann, Flinders Petrie, Evans (John and Arthur) and Pitt-Rivers. A course that includes archaeology but ignores such great pioneers as these is open to criticism in that respect—and Pitt-Rivers was also an anthropologist. Language may be responsible for the fact that only one item by Breuil is mentioned, and only two items in any foreign language—one each in French and German out of a total of about 450. North Africa is recognized as a key-region, but Gsell does not appear and Vaufreij only once. Zimbabwe is not anywhere referred to, and neither Maciver's excavations nor those of Miss Caton-Thompson are mentioned. Nor are the standard books of Maciver and Peate on prehistoric Italy cited. A shifting of emphasis from the later to the earlier history of mankind is welcome and was overdue; but the balance must nevertheless be preserved.

A rather strange omission is air-photography—all the more strange in view of the fact that the first anthropological air-photographs were taken and published by Americans (see *ANTIQUITY* XIII, 1-2, Plates I and II). Air-photography is certainly as important a technique in anthropology and archaeology as others, such as dendro-chronology and the annual increment method, both of which are discussed.

One last criticism is not perhaps strictly one of the course itself as here presented. One wonders to what extent field-work and museums are involved? Without direct physical contact with one's subject—such as the handling of specimens, and the inspection or excavation of an ancient site—there is the risk of mental indigestion. The course deals (quite properly) with much highly theoretical matter. The present writer has found that a few weeks or even days spent in a primitive village is better than much reading. But the approach must be individual, not collective. The ideal museum to have in the background of this course would be not unlike the imaginary one portrayed by the present writer many years ago (*Man and his Part*, 1921, Chapter 18); one may now take the credit of having then placed it in America.

All these publications can be obtained from the Chicago University Book Store: The Syllabus (\$2.00), Selected Readings I (\$1.00), Selected Readings II (\$4.00), The Maps (\$1.00).

Fowling in Prehistoric Europe

by GRAHAME CLARK

FOWLING has seldom played a part in the food-quest at all comparable with that of hunting or fishing: the situation of St. Kilda, where during the 17th century the 180 inhabitants are held by Martin (1) to have consumed annually some 22,600 Solan Geese (Gannets) and of which the Rev. Macaulay exclaimed in 1758 '... deprive us of the Fulmar, and St. Kilda is no more (2)', is an exception which only proves the general rule. Yet, we know that birds helped to vary the diet of most of the communities of prehistoric Europe and that catching them was an activity of economic importance, especially at certain seasons of the year. The only scientific way of estimating the part played by fowling in the economy of any prehistoric group is through an accurate knowledge of the total fauna represented in the food debris, with special regard to the relative proportions of the different species. While this is too seldom available, there is in the aggregate sufficient data to show how far prehistoric man depended on fowling to supply himself with food. As to the methods used, direct evidence of this is all the harder to come by, since these were mainly of a kind to leave little or no tangible trace behind them. Throughout prehistoric times fowling remained at a primitive stage of development, but fortunately the methods used still survived in Europe down to modern times and most are still practised to-day, whether among peasant peoples in the remoter parts of the continent or among poachers nearer home.

One of the first points to emphasize is that the early fowlers relied only to a very limited extent upon taking birds on the wing. This is not to say that the bow and arrow were never used for birds: among the bones from the Hamburgian reindeer-hunters' camp at Meiendorf in Schleswig-Holstein were the pelvis of an Arctic Grouse, apparently perforated by an arrow discharged from below, and the breast-bone of a Crane with no less than four arrow wounds (3); wooden arrowheads or bolts of the broad-headed type used among modern circumpolar peoples for shooting certain birds, as well as small fur-bearing mammals, have recently been found on Maglemosian sites in Danish bogs (4) (FIG. 1); and there is literary evidence that eagles were shot by bow and arrow in Classical Greece, as they are among some primitive peoples to-day. But, until firearms became generally available, shooting played only a restricted part in fowling. Slings were probably concentrated, as in later times, on small birds travelling in large flocks, like the field-fares killed in such vast numbers on their way from north Russia to winter in the German woods (5). Throwing-sticks were a favourite weapon of sportsmen

¹ M. Martin, *A Late Voyage to St. Kilda*, p. 457 (Orig. publ. 1698). Stirling, 1934.

² Quoted from James Ritchie, *The influence of man on animal life in Scotland*, p. 147. Cambridge 1920. Fowling has also been developed to an exceptional degree in the Faroes. For an excellent description, see Kenneth Williamson's *The Atlantic Islands* (London, chap. 6) which appeared while this article was in press.

³ A. Rust, *Das altsteinzeitliche Rentierjägerlager Meiendorf*, s. 108, taf. 53. Neumunster, 1937.

⁴ C. J. Becker, 'En 8000-aarig stenalderboplads i Holmegaards Mose', *Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark*, 1945, pp. 66-7.

⁵ G. Klemm reckoned that some 1,200,000 field-fares were taken in this way every year in E. Prussia alone. *Allgemeine Culturwissenschaft. Die materiellen Grundlagen menschlicher Cultur*, s. 117. Leipzig, 1855.

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in ancient Egypt (6) for taking wild-fowl as they rose from the reeds and it is possible that the wooden throwing-sticks from the Danish Stone Age site of Brabrand Sö (7) were used for a similar purpose.

A further point which needs emphasizing is that many of the devices used in medieval times for catching birds are thought to have emanated from the classical world and can hardly have been available to prehistoric man save perhaps in certain parts of the Mediterranean zone. According to Lindner (8) these included the use of bird-lime and of nets: the former was employed for taking small birds on the branches of trees and also for catching hawks which were decoyed by a bird tethered between an arched stick coated with the concoction (9); the latter was of special value for taking coveys of partridges and other ground-birds. Although the use of tame falcons was developed as a sport at an early date in the Near East, the method did not reach Scandinavia until the

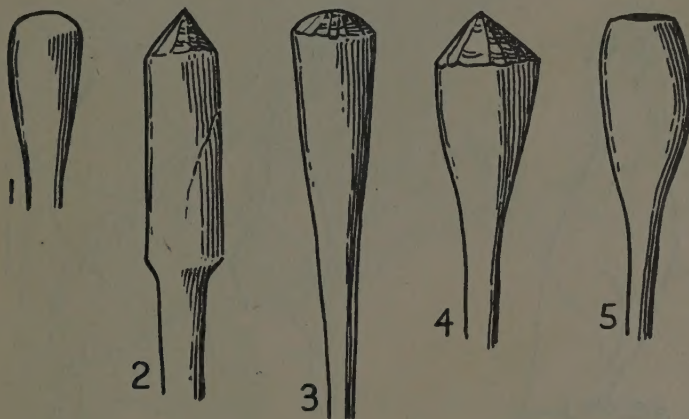


FIG. 1. BLUNT-ENDED WOODEN ARROWHEADS ($\frac{1}{2}$)

nos. 1, 2. Mesolithic (Danish Maglemosian)

nos. 3-5. Modern (Burjat, Wogul and Eskimo)

Migration period and is not generally considered to have spread to Britain until the 9th century A.D. (10). In fact, prehistoric man must in the main have relied upon the various types of snare and trap which occur over extensive tracts of Eurasia and North America and which still survive in parts of Europe, and in the case of birds unable to escape by flight upon the even more primitive methods of clubbing or simple seizure.

⁶ J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. III, p. 38. London, 1837.

⁷ L. Franz, 'Alteuropäische Wurfhölzer', *P. W. Schmidt Festschrift* (ed. W. Koppers), s. 800-8. Vienna, 1928.

⁸ K. Lindner, *Die Jagd im frühen Mittelalter*, s. 339-40, 409. Berlin, 1940.

⁹ According to Lindner, this consisted of mistletoe berries, dried, pounded, soaked in water for twelve days and again pulverized.

¹⁰ H. Shetelig and H. Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology*, p. 306. Oxford, 1937; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edn., vol. X, p. 141.

An obvious victim of direct attack was the Great Auk (*Alca impennis*) (11), which although agile enough on the sea was quite incapable of flight and was easily taken during the short breeding season on land. As its flesh was quite good to eat, despite a fishy flavour, and kept well when salted, and since the fat, the gullet and the stomach also had their uses, there is no wonder that coast-dwellers went for it from early times (See Appendix for list of finds). Even the brutish Neanderthalers found its capture within their compass, as bones from La Cotte de St. Brelade and from Devil's Tower, Gibraltar, testify. Little is known about the coastal settlements of Upper Palaeolithic man, but bones of the Great Auk have been recovered from Grimaldian deposits in the Grotta Romanelli in Apulia on the heel of Italy, and what may well be a representation of it has been recognized at El Pendo near Santander (12) on the north coast of Spain (FIG. 2). In post-glacial times the Great Auk no longer reached the Mediterranean, but its bones

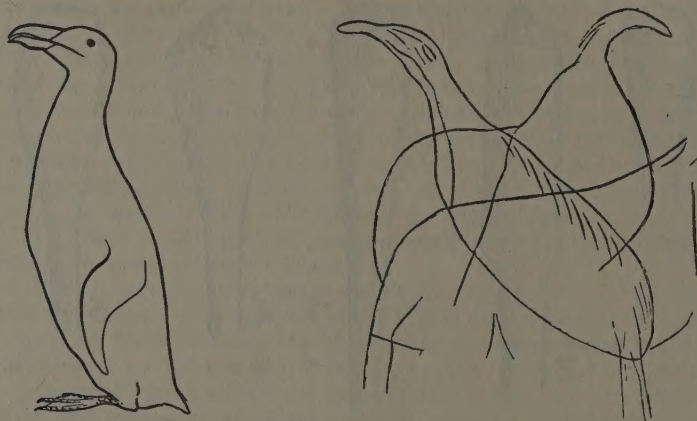


FIG. 2. (left) GREAT AUK
(right) UPPER PALAEOLITHIC ROCK-ENGRAVING AT EL PENDO
(after Breuil)

have been recovered from prehistoric middens from Morbihan to the coast of Norway almost to the Arctic Circle (FIG. 3; see Appendix for list of sites). The fact that substantial numbers of individuals were represented at Whitechurch, Whitepark Bay and Klintesö and the presence at Sejrö and Aakvik of remains of young ones confirm that the birds were slaughtered on or near the breeding-places. The find-spots are hardly numerous enough to show whether prehistoric man caused any reduction in the breeding-area of the Great Auk, which certainly bred as far afield as Caithness, Bohuslän

¹¹ For a general account, see Symington Grieve, *The Great Auk, or Garefowl. Its history, archaeology and remains*. London, 1885. A more comprehensive account is given by W. Blasius in Naumann's *Naturgeschichte der Vögel Mitteleuropas*, bd. XII, 169-208. Many of the finds of Great Auk remains from archaeological sites have been made since and a complete list is given in the Appendix of the present paper. For the Broch of Ayre reference and for information about the bones from Elsay, I am indebted to Miss D. M. A. Bate.

¹² H. Breuil et al., *Les Cavernes de la région Cantabriques*, pp. 38-9. Monaco, 1911.

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and Western Norway as late as the Early Iron Age. The harrying and final extinction of the species (13) was an affair of modern history.

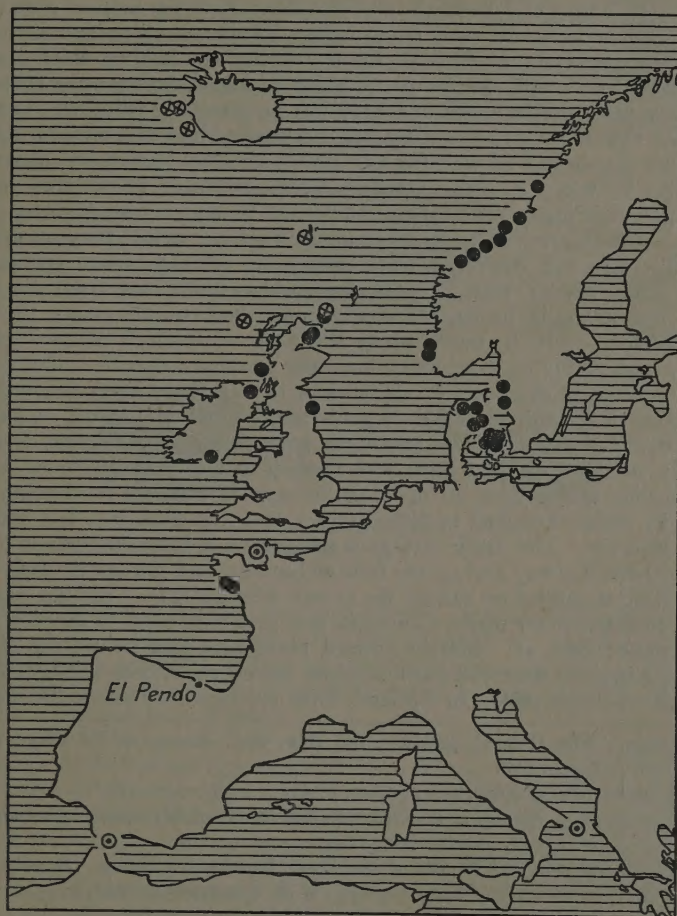


FIG. 3. MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF REMAINS OF GREAT AUK ON SITES OCCUPIED BY EARLY MAN

⊕ Pleistocene

● Post-glacial

NOTE : Early 19th century breeding grounds are marked ⊕

Many kinds of water-bird, including geese, ducks and swans, are comparatively clumsy during the moulting season and it is then that fowlers would concentrate their

¹³ The last pair were killed in June, 1844, on the islet of Eldey, south-west of Iceland.

attack. It is true of the circumpolar people generally, among whom fowling is comparatively important, that, as Boas (14) said of the Central Eskimo, 'by far the greater number of birds are caught during the moult[ing] season'. It was while the geese were in moult that the Lapps of Finnmark ran them down with the help of dogs (15), just as the natives of Kamtschatka were doing when Krasheninnikov described them two hundred years earlier (16), and it is at this season that the Eskimo chiefly employ their characteristic bird-dart with side members mounted low down the shaft (17). Our own English fenmen incurred the wrath of Henry VIII for attacking wildfowl 'in the summer season, at such time as (they) be moulted, and not replenished with feathers to fly . . . in such wise that the brood of wild-fowl is almost thereby wasted and consumed' (18). Birds can also be taken at a disadvantage when sitting or before they have left the parental nest as fledglings. The inhabitants of the Westman Islands in the Faroes club young gannets and fulmar petrels to death on the nest just before they are ready to leave and take guillemots and razorbills, when sitting, by passing nooses round their necks from above (19). Aleuts and Greenlanders grab cormorants from their nests by night (20). But it would be superfluous to multiply examples, since the practice of attacking wild-fowl while in moult or on the nest corresponds to basic physiological facts and can reasonably be expected among any people unprovided with fire-arms.

Snares, consisting of nooses of sinew, hair or vegetable fibres secured to wooden stakes, although largely displaced during historical times in Europe by nets, are still very widely distributed and rank as one of the most primitive of fowling devices. They are especially suited to ground birds like Ptarmigan and Arctic Grouse, which prefer running alongside and seeking an opening through an obstacle to clearing it, and are easily taken by nooses attached to forked sticks placed in gaps in a low hedge of birch twigs set in the snow. The Arctic Grouse is still snared in huge numbers in the mountain valleys of northern Norway and on the fells of Lapland and it is particularly to be noted that the trapping is carried on during the season of snow (21). Similar snares are also widely used to catch water birds, though in this case it is usual to employ lines with a number of nooses (FIG. 4). Martin noticed horse-hair gins in use on St. Kilda (22) and the great Linnaeus observed lines of snares set on the shores of the Baltic island of Fåro to catch sea-birds (23). In Finland, lines are stretched across swimming routes

¹⁴ Franz Boas, 'The Central Eskimo', 6th Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 401-669. Washington, 1888. See p. 512.

¹⁵ H. A. Macpherson, *A History of Fowling*, p. 122. Edinburgh, 1897.

¹⁶ S. Krasheninnikov, *History of Kamtschatka and the Kurilski Islands, with countries adjacent* (J. Grieve's transl.), pp. 158-9. Gloucester, 1764.

¹⁷ J. Murdoch, *Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition, 1881-83*, pp. 210-11. Washington, 1893; K. Birket-Smith, *Ethnography of the Egesminde District*, p. 352. Copenhagen, 1924.

¹⁸ An acte agenst Destructyon of Wyldfowle. 25 Henry VIII, cap. II. Quoted from H. C. Darby, *The Draining of the Fens*, p. 9. Cambridge, 1940.

¹⁹ N. Annandale, *The Faroes and Iceland*, p. 123. Oxford, 1905. See also Kenneth Williamson, op. cit.

²⁰ W. Jochelson, *History, Ethnology and Anthropology of the Aleut*, pp. 53-4. Carnegie Inst. Pub. 432. Washington, 1933.

²¹ U. T. Sirelius, *Die Volkskultur Finnlands, I. Jagd und Fischerei*, s. 65-6. Berlin, 1934; J. Bøe, *Le Finnmarkien*, p. 254. Oslo, 1936.

²² op. cit. p. 316.

²³ C. von Linné, *Öländska och Gothländska Resa*, p. 204. Stockholm, 1745.

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leading to favourite pasturages of wild fowl or close to the shore just in front of a nesting-place, and ducks, divers, swans, geese and even cranes are secured (24). The Tungus of the Lena Delta set snares across spits of land frequented by wild geese and use a boy or a woman to drive the birds into them (25). In Siberia, snares are set under water to take swans by the neck when grubbing up the roots of water grasses (26). Although actual traces of such devices can hardly be expected to survive from early times, unless by the rare chance which preserved one from the Bronze Age in north Sweden (27), it is safe to assume that they were used during prehistoric times in a wide variety of ways to catch many kinds of ground-bird and water-fowl.

It is worth emphasizing that the evidence of bird remains from archaeological sites may be expected to throw light on much more than the extent and character of the fowling activities carried on by different communities. At all times fowling is regulated to a greater or less degree by the habits and seasons of the various kinds of bird inhabiting or visiting the territory in question. Under primitive conditions, when only the simplest methods were available, the dependence on such biological factors as breeding and moulting, must have been, as we have shown, all the closer. Bird bones



FIG. 4. SIBERIAN DUCK-SNARES
(after Macpherson)

should therefore be able to tell us much about the times and seasons during which prehistoric sites were occupied. Indications furnished by the occurrence of migrants or by signs of fowling activities limited to a particular time of the year should throw important light on problems of human settlement and incidentally illustrate the value of an ecological approach to prehistory.

In turning first to the material from the Upper Palaeolithic caves, it should be noted that by no means all the species represented can be related to human activities. Many occupied the caves on their own account, often during intervals in their tenancy by man, and remains of others were introduced by beasts of prey like the Arctic fox. To be quite sure which species were introduced into cave deposits as the result of fowling activities on the part of man, we need far more detailed information about the occurrence and condition of the bird remains than is normally available. One of our best sources of information about the birds represented in the fauna of the Dordogne caves is still the chapter contributed by the ornithologist Milne-Edwards to Lartet and Christy's *Reliquiae Diluvianae* (28). The fact which stands out from his survey is the abundance and widespread occurrence of the Arctic (Willow) Grouse (*Lagopus albus*). Indeed, the

²⁴ U. T. Sirelius, op. cit. p. 66.

²⁵ H. A. Macpherson, op. cit. pp. 222-3.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 231.

²⁷ E. Granlund, *Sver. Geolog. Unders. ser. Ca. Avhandl. och Uppsatser*, no. 26, p. 143. I have to thank Dr Gosta Berg of Stockholm for this reference.

²⁸ London, 1865-75. pp. 226-47.

Arctic Grouse, together with the less strongly represented Ptarmigan (*L. mutus*) is the only bird which we can state positively to have been the object of organized fowling by the Upper Palaeolithic cave-dwellers. The condition of the bones, which exhibit clear-cut marks from flint knives, but lack signs of gnawing by beasts of prey, satisfied Milne-Edwards that they really were left-overs from human meals. Both Arctic Grouse and Ptarmigan were again strongly represented in the Magdalenian deposits of the south German caves, including Schweizersbild, Sirgenstein and Wildscheuer (29), and Arctic Grouse accounted for some 50 per cent of the large quantity of bird remains obtained from Magdalenian deposits in the more recently excavated Petersfels in the same region (30). Magdalenian man's interest in the Arctic Grouse is reflected in a little-noticed engraving on a reindeer antler stave from Isturitz (31) (FIG. 5). The occurrence of the Arctic Grouse in such large numbers among his food debris reflects an open landscape with clumps of birches and, to judge from surviving practice, implies the use of snares during the season of snow cover, an interesting confirmation that the rock-shelters and caves were occupied during the winter months (32).

By contrast, remains of the Arctic Grouse are much less numerous from the summer camps of the related Hamburgians of North Germany, and it is significant that, as already noted, at least one individual from Meiendorf showed evidence of having been shot by bow and arrow while in flight. The most numerous birds represented on the Hamburgian sites were wild geese and swans, which must have nested around the lakes and ponds of the tunnel-valleys frequented by the reindeer-hunters during the summer months and were doubtless taken while still on the nest or in moult. The occurrence of at least one crane, and of remains of young birds (swan, sea-gull and, probably, goose) at Meiendorf (33) confirms that the sites were occupied during the summer. Combining the results from the caves and the summer camps, we may conclude that during Upper Palaeolithic times, or at least among the Magdalenians, Arctic Grouse and Ptarmigan were snared during the winter and occasionally shot during the summer and that geese and swans were taken at their most defenceless periods, while on the nest or in moult.

Much the largest and best studied assemblages from Mesolithic sites are those from Denmark. They fall into two distinct groups, one from inland bogs, associated with the Maglemosian culture and of Boreal age, the other from coastal middens of the Ertebølle culture dating from Atlantic times. The bird remains from the chief Maglemosian sites on Zealand (34), namely Müllerup, Svaerdborg, Holmegaard and Ögaarde, agree closely in general composition, differing mainly in the case of species represented only by single individuals. The birds reflect pretty accurately an inland bog habitat which was not however very far distant from the sea, and which was hemmed in by forest. The only ground-birds represented are a few Capercaillies, doubtless from the pine woods which covered much of the drier ground. Fresh-water species are by far the

²⁹ R. R. Schmidt, *Die diluviale Vorzeit Deutschlands*, s. 169, 191, 207. Stuttgart, 1912.

³⁰ E. Peters and V. Toepfer, 'Der Abschluss der Grabungen am Petersfels bei Engen im badischen Hegau', *Prähist. Zeit.*, XXIII, s. 155-99. Berlin, 1932. s. 166.

³¹ E. Passemard, 'La caverne d'Isturitz', *Rev. arch.*, xv, pp. 1-45. Paris, 1922. p. 40, fig. 38.

³² R. de St.-Périer, 'Les migrations des tribus magdaléniennes des Pyrénées', *Rev. anthrop.*, 1920, May-June. cf. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* v (1939), p. 268.

³³ A. Rust, op. cit. s. 55-7.

³⁴ H. Winge, *Aarbøger*, 1903, pp. 194-5; 1919, p. 128-9; 1924, pp. 28-9; and M. Degerbøl in T. Mathiassen et al., *Stenalderbopladsen i Aamosen*, pp. 190-1. Copenhagen, 1943.

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commonest and these include the two most abundantly represented, namely Wild Duck and Mute Swan (*Cygnus olor*), as well as Grebe, Coot and Heron. In addition, several species of predominantly sea-birds were taken by the Maglemosian fowlers, including cormorants and gulls and divers of various species, though none of these are represented by more than one or two individuals.

Marine birds are naturally much more strongly represented in the Ertebölle middens (35). Capercaillie are again the only ground-birds, a reminder that even in Atlantic times pines were not entirely displaced by trees tolerant of warmer conditions. Freshwater species include Wild Duck and Great Crested Grebe, but sea-birds predominate, including many types of duck, auks (predominant among which was the Great Auk already discussed), Cormorants, Gannets and gulls, chiefly Herring and



FIG. 5. ENGRAVING OF A BIRD, PROBABLY AN ARCTIC GROUSE, ON A PIECE OF REINDEER ANTLER FROM ISTURITZ, BASSES-PYRÉNÉES (†)

(after Passemard)

Great Black-backed, and divers. Whooper (*Cygnus Cygnus*) and Bewick's (*C. bewicki*) Swans occur on almost every site, the former often in substantial numbers.

The two assemblages differ markedly in respect of season. The birds from the Maglemosian sites confirm the generally accepted view that these were occupied only during the summer months (36). The presence of Cranes and of numerous Mute Swans, as well as of young Cormorants and Sea Eagles, indicates occupation during the summer, while the absence of winter migrants argues for their abandonment during the colder months. The story is very different for the coastal middens, from which Herluf Winge cited no less than thirteen winter guests, including, in addition to the two species of swan, several kinds of divers and ducks. Indeed, it was winter migrants which provided the chief victims for the coastal fowlers—at Sölager no less than 29 humeri of Whooper Swan were identified, 57 of Eider, 14 of Common Scoter, 82 of Velvet Scoter and at least 92 of Goldeneye. Arguing from the bird bones alone, it might be tempting

³⁵ H. Winge, 'Om jordfundne Fugle fra Danmark', *Vidensk. Medd. fra den naturhist. For. i Kjöbenhavn*, 1903, pp. 61-109.

³⁶ J. G. D. Clark, *The Mesolithic Settlement of Northern Europe*, p. 90. Cambridge, 1936.

to interpret the middens as exclusively winter sites, since the summer migrants common on the bog-sites, such as Mute Swans and Cranes, are conspicuously absent and the sole summer migrants, Honey Buzzard from Aamölle and Pelican from Havnö, are represented only by single bones. Yet we know from Winge's study of the mammalian fauna that the midden sites were in fact occupied throughout the year (37). The correct interpretation of the bird bones would seem to be that the Ertebölle people carried on their fowling activities principally during the winter months, when numerous migrants frequented the coasts, to be taken in the main no doubt by such rows of snares as Linnaeus noted on the strand of Färo.

Sea-birds contributed to the food-supply of hunter-fishers on the coasts of many other parts of Europe. In western Norway the rock-shelter of Viste, near Stavanger (38), yielded traces of twenty-seven species, of which no less than twenty-three are attributed to fowling activities by early man. Once again, the only ground-bird is the Capercailzie of the pine forests. Great Auk and Guillemot are the species represented by the largest number of individuals, but remains of Wild Duck, swan, a number of sea-ducks, among them Eider and Scoter, three species of grebe and several gulls and divers also



FIG. 6. BONE OUTLINE CARVING OF A DUCK-LIKE BIRD FROM THE CAVE OF SOLSEM, LEKA, NORTH-WEST NORWAY (†)
Trondheim Museum 10813

occur. The importance of swimming birds on the coasts of Norway is reflected in the art of the Arctic hunter-fishers: a duck-like bird is represented in a flat bone carving from the cave of Solsem on Leka (FIG. 6) and swans, geese and ducks are depicted on rock-engravings at Leiknes, Bardal and Hammer (39), the latter (FIG. 7) showing what appears to be a brood of young accompanied by adults, all looking in one direction and mostly swimming hard with necks outstretched. Sea-birds were also pursued by the Obanians of western Scotland, the Cnoc Sligeach midden on Ornsay (40) yielding 'great quantities of the bones of marine species', among them Great Auk, Razorbill, Gannet, Cormorant and various gulls. The Tardenoisians of Téviec, a small island off the coast of Morbihan, also took the Great Auk, as well as a large number of different

³⁷ *Affaldsdynger*, p. 195. Copenhagen, 1900; V. Nordmann, *Menneskets Indvandring til Norden*, p. 128. Copenhagen, 1936; J. G. D. Clark, op. cit. p. 51.

³⁸ A. W. Brögger, *Vistefundet. En aeldre stenalders kjøkkenmodding fra Jæderen*, pp. 9-11. Stavanger, 1908.

³⁹ *Leiknes*: G. Gjessing, *Arktiske Helligstninger i Nord-Norge*, pl. ix. Oslo, 1932; G. Hallström, *Monumental Art of Northern Europe from the Stone Age*, p. 107. Stockholm, 1938.

Bardal: G. Gjessing, *Nordenfjelske Ristninger og Malinger av den arktiske gruppe*, pp. 47-50, pl. LVII. Oslo, 1936; G. Hallström, op. cit., pp. 300-2, pl. XXIV.

Hammer: G. Gjessing, 1936, op. cit. pp. 25-9, pl. LIV.

⁴⁰ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, XLVIII, p. 105.

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kinds of bird, mainly water-fowl, amongst which Wild Duck and Wigeon were most numerous (41).

Fowling continued to supply an element in the food-supply of farming communities, particularly those on the sea-coast or in the immediate neighbourhood of lakes or marshes. The inhabitants of the Swiss lake-villages (42) took large numbers of Wild Duck and it is possible that they caught some of these by baiting double-pointed gorges (43), bone versions of which have turned up on many of their sites. The method, which is widely used for catching fish, is also employed on the north-west coast of North America, in Alaska and in northern Asia (44) for taking duck and actually survives for this purpose on the Swiss Untersee (45). It is likely that this method was also employed by the prehistoric fowling of the Norwegian coast. Herons were also killed in quite large numbers by the lake-dwellers and it is worth noting that these were formerly caught in Britain on hooks baited with roach or dace and secured to a stone weight (46). The



FIG. 7. ARCTIC ROCK-ENGRAVING AT HAMMER, NORTH-WEST NORWAY, SHOWING
A BROOD OF SWIMMING BIRDS
(after Gjessing)

discovery of several bones of the Whooper Swan at Robenhausen is interesting, since this bird only reaches Switzerland during the most severe winters and its presence shows that the pile-villages were occupied even when the lakes were frozen. Wild Duck was

⁴¹ M. and S.-J. Péquart, *Téviec. Station-nécropole mésolithique du Morbihan*, pp. 101-2. Paris, 1937.

⁴² L. Rüttimeyer, *Die Fauna der Pfahlbauten der Schweiz*, s. 113-5. Zürich, 1862; H. Reinerth, *Die jüngere Steinzeit der Schweiz*, table in App. II. Augsburg, 1926; also, *Das Federseemoor*, s. 70. Leipzig, 1936.

⁴³ F. Keller, *The Lake Dwellings of Switzerland and other parts of Europe*, pl. XIV, 23, 24. London, 1866.

⁴⁴ E. Krause, 'Vorgeschichtliche Fischereigeräte und neuere Vergleichsstücke', *Z.f.Fischerei*, bd. XI, s. 133-300. Berlin, 1904, s. 228-9.

⁴⁵ F. Keller, *op. cit.* p. 67.

⁴⁶ H. A. Macpherson, *op. cit.* p. 213.

also the chief quarry of the Glastonbury lake-villagers (47), but the most interesting finds from the settlement were the remains of the Crested Pelican, including several young individuals, a sure sign, if one were needed, of occupation during the summer months. In the far north of the British Isles, finds from burial chambers and settlements in Orkney and Shetland (48) show that the prehistoric farmers of these parts caught much the same birds as the Obanian hunter-fishers, and for that matter as the St. Kildans of modern times.

For the most part fowling was carried on in early times to provide meat, although in certain cases there were valuable adjuncts (48a). The feathers of some birds were particularly sought after. Down was probably collected from nests, as it is to-day among some primitive peoples (49), but its production in bulk under conditions of quasi or complete domestication only arose under the stimulus of demand from the towns. According to Gustav Klemm (50), the breeding of tame geese among the ancient Germans developed to meet the demand for feathers from Classical Italy. Incidentally, as has been surmised in the pages of ANTIQUITY (51), the taming of geese could easily have arisen from the practice of raiding the birds while the young were still in the nest; indeed, Macpherson (52) had noted long previously that the Lapps of Finnmark habitually hunted the White-fronted Goose while in moult and took the goslings home for fattening. Among the uses to which the bones of birds left over from meals were put was to stamp pottery, the articular ends being impressed on the clay while it was still soft to produce a variety of decorative patterns. As was first shown in ANTIQUITY (53), this method of decorating pottery was practised by the Peterborough or Neolithic 'B' people of Britain. It is tantalizing that, although the name-site of the culture yielded bird-bones (54), none of these were identified. Certain sea-birds produced valuable oil; the inhabitants of St. Kilda used the oil of Fulmar Petrels for their lamps (55) and the Westman islanders used it also as a spread, like butter (56); according to Annandale (57) it took only ten Fulmars to yield a litre of oil. Again, the gullet and stomach of the Great Auk were used by Icelandic fisherman for making floats (58).

In the case of birds of prey, it seems unlikely that these were killed for meat, when so many other birds easier to catch and more generally regarded as palatable were available.

⁴⁷ A. Bulleid and H. St. G. Gray, *The Glastonbury Lake Village*, pp. 631-7. Glastonbury, 1911.

⁴⁸ One of the best studied collections of bird remains from a Scottish archaeological site is that from Jarlshof, Shetland, dealt with by Miss M. Platt, and ranging in age from Late Bronze Age to Norse (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXVII, p. 135; LXVIII, p. 318). For sea birds from a Neolithic deposit in a chambered cairn nr. Midhowe, Rousay, Orkney, see *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXVIII, p. 349. It is interesting to note that the Iron Age level in a chamber of a stalled cairn on Eday, Orkney yielded remains of at least 28 Cormorants, as well as lesser numbers of Herring and Greater Black-headed Gulls, Shag, White-tailed Eagle and Merlin (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXXI, pp. 152-3).

^{48a} For a description of the uses to which bird-products were put in the Faroes, see Kenneth Williamson's 'The Economic Importance of Sea-Fowl in the Faeroe Islands', *Ibis*, 87, pp. 249-69, 1945.

⁴⁹ e.g. by the Aleuts. W. Jochelson, op. cit. p. 53.

⁵⁰ *Handbuch der Germanischen alterthumskund*, s. 135. Dresden, 1836.

⁵¹ W. H. Riddell, 'The Domestic Goose', ANTIQUITY, 1943, p. 150.

⁵² op. cit. p. 222.

⁵³ Miss D. M. Liddell, 'New Light on an Old Problem', ANTIQUITY, 1929, pp. 283-91.

⁵⁴ *Archaeologia*, LXII, p. 335.

⁵⁵ J. Ritchie, op. cit. p. 147.

⁵⁶ N. Annandale, op. cit. p. 115.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ S. Grieve, op. cit. p. 119-20.

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It is true that some peoples eat the flesh of eagles—an 18th century observer (59) noted that this was regarded as a delicacy in the Ukraine and among the natives of Kamtschatka—but some other explanation is needed to account for the presence of so many remains of these birds on prehistoric sites. It is reasonable to suppose that birds of prey were killed among prehistoric farmers as vermin: eagles, in particular, whose depredations include the carrying off of young lambs, have been harried by sheep farmers during historical times and their rapid decline in the Scottish Highlands is closely linked with the spread of sheep runs (60). The Swiss lake-villages, it is worth noting, have yielded remains of Kites, Goshawks, White-tailed Eagles, Golden Eagles and Sparrow-hawks (61) and birds of prey are known from the Glastonbury lake-village (62), several prehistoric sites in Orkney and Shetland (63) and many other habitations of farming communities.

The notion that birds of prey were killed as vermin can hardly be applied to account for their presence, often in considerable numbers, on the settlements of hunter-fishers, nor is it the only possible explanation for their presence on those of prehistoric peasants. The suggestion made by the Danish zoologist, M. Degerbøl (64) to account for the numerous remains of White-tailed Eagle at the Maglemosian site of Ögaard, that they were killed for their feathers, needed for fletching arrows, is worth some fuller consideration. The occurrence at Ögaard is no isolated one (65): remains of the same kind of eagle were found at each of the three other classic Maglemosian sites on Zealand, as well as in most of the Ertebölle middens, and on Mesolithic sites as widely separated as Viste and Téviec. It has long been recognized that the Maglemosians were skilled archers and excavations in the peat-bogs during the war have brought to light a couple of single-piece wooden bows with constricted hand-grips and a number of wooden arrow-shafts (66). The recovery of arrows with feathers intact can hardly be expected from the bogs, since, although feathers will survive when desiccated—Tut-ank-amen's tomb yielded a large number of fletched arrows (67)—they perish under conditions of water-logging which preserve wood and many other organic materials: if proof were needed one might point to the arrow-shafts from the famous Iron Age bog-finds of Vimose (68) and Thorsbjerg (69), which tantalizingly show impressions of the threads used to bind on the feathers. From representations (70) on calcareous pebbles from La Coubrière it is certain that the feathering of projectiles goes back to Upper Palaeolithic

⁵⁹ G. W. Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, s. 194. Frankfurt, 1774.

⁶⁰ e.g. J. Ritchie, op. cit. p. 130.

⁶¹ L. Rüttimeyer, op. cit.

⁶² A. Bulleid and H. St. G. Gray, op. cit.

⁶³ e.g. Jarlshof (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXVIII, p. 318); chambered cairn near Midhowe, Rousay (ibid. p. 349); Iron Age level, stalled cairn, Calf of Eday (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXXI, pp. 152-3).

⁶⁴ M. Degerbøl in Mathiassen *et al.*, op. cit. p. 191. The Ögaarde Maglemosian site yielded 13 humeri, as well as other bones, of the White-tailed Eagle.

⁶⁵ E. Dahr had previously drawn attention to the large number of bones of the same species from the seal-hunting station at Siretorp, Scania, in A. Bagge and K. Kjellmark, *Stenåldersboplatserna vid Siretorp i Blekinge*, pp. 242-5. Stockholm, 1939.

⁶⁶ C. J. Becker, op. cit. figs. 3, 4.

⁶⁷ Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, vol. III, p. 139 and pl. XLVI. London, 1933.

⁶⁸ C. Englehardt, *Vimose Fundet*, p. 23 and pl. 14, no. 23. Copenhagen, 1929.

⁶⁹ C. Englehardt, *Denmark in the Early Iron Age*, p. 58, pl. 12, no. II. London, 1866.

⁷⁰ L. Mayet and J. Pissot, *Abri-sous-roche préhistorique de la Colombière*, figs. 47, 56 and pl. XXI, no. I and XXII, no. I. Lyon, 1915. I am indebted to Professor Dorothy Garrod for help on this point.

times, and there is every reason for thinking that a device so calculated to steady the flight of an arrow was used by the Mesolithic inheritors of the old hunting tradition.

What reason is there to suppose that they used eagle feathers for this particular purpose? One must admit that concrete evidence is unlikely, for the reason stated, ever to be forthcoming. Yet, it is highly probable. The use of eagle feathers for fletching, particularly the pinion, but also the tail feathers, is extremely widely distributed in northern Eurasia and in parts of North America, and, indeed it survived until comparatively recently in Finland and in Scandinavia. According to Macpherson (71), the province of Manchuria was still rendering yearly tribute to Peking towards the end of the 19th century in the form of three hundred skins of the Large Spotted Eagle (*Aquila clanga*), the tail feathers being used to make fans for mandarins and the pinion ones for fletching the famed Manchu arrows. The Japanese also required eagle feathers for their arrows. So great was the demand that feathers were imported from primitive peoples living to the north. It is related by C. H. Hawes (72) of his travels in Sakhalin at the beginning of the present century that the Gilyaks pressed him to shoot White-tailed Eagles for their tail-feathers, 'for which they declared the Chinese gave them three dollars', and, again, that the same people removed young eagles from the nest and reared them in the hopes of selling the tails to the Japanese. A similar practice was reported by an 18th century traveller (73) in the Kuriles, where there was hardly a yurt without its eagle, fed constantly to provide the feathers needed for fletching arrows or for trade to distant islanders, presumably Japanese.

Eagle feathers were also used for fletching arrows among the Beothuc Indians of Labrador (74), the Eskimo of Greenland (75) and the Golds of the Amur (76). At the other end of the circumpolar zone the feathers of the White-tailed Eagle were used for the same purpose in Finland up to the 18th (77) and in Scandinavia during the 16th century (78). To judge from the passage in Olaus Magnus (79) referring to the reaction of eagle feathers when brought up against those of the humbler bird in the same quiver, the eagle must have been supplemented by the goose as a source of feathers for fletching by the middle of the 16th century in the north, a process which had long before been carried to its logical conclusion in the more intensely farmed areas of Europe where goose feathers reigned supreme during medieval times (80). As to the antiquity in Europe of this use of the eagle's feathers, one need only cite Hesiod's description (81) of the arrows of Hercules 'at the back end covered with the feathers of a dusky eagle'. This, combined with the fact that eagles were commonly shot by bow and arrow accounts for Aesop's fable, 'The Eagle and the Arrow', in which the victim is made to regret 'tis an added

⁷¹ *op. cit.* p. 181.

⁷² *In the Uttermost East*, pp. 176, 231. London, 1903.

⁷³ G. W. Steller, *op. cit.* s. 194.

⁷⁴ *J. R. Anthropol.* I, IV, p. 29. London, 1875.

⁷⁵ B. Adler, *Der Nordasiatische Pfeil*, s. 13. Suppl. Bd. xiv, Inst. Arch. f. Ethnog. Leiden, 1901.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*

⁷⁷ Dr Itkonen kindly showed me arrows fletched with eagle feathers in his department of the National Museum at Helsingfors. He informs us that eagle feathers were preferred up till the end of the 18th century in Finland. cf. U. T. Sirelius, *op. cit.* s. 33.

⁷⁸ Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, bk. 19, cap 6. Rome, 1555.

⁷⁹ *ibid.* bk. 19, cap. 7.

⁸⁰ W. H. Riddell, *op. cit.*

⁸¹ *The Shield of Hercules*, v, 135. Quoted from Bohn edtn. 1856, p. 57.

grief that with my own feathers I am slain', a conceit of which later poets made ample use, among them Byron :

' So the struck eagle, stretched upon the plain,
No more through rolling clouds to soar again,
View'd his own feather on the fatal dart,
And wing'd the shaft that quiver'd in his heart'.

[*English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*]

Considered as so much raw material the pinion and tail feathers of the eagle are eminently suited for fletching arrows, but not notably more so than those of the goose. Certainly it was not for their physical properties alone that eagle feathers were preferred so long among so many different peoples. Their efficacy was not merely mechanical ; it was also magical. The archer wished to direct the aim and increase the force of his arrow by appropriating something of the eagle's power and keenness of vision. Among modern primitive peoples the potency of the eagle is identified not only with the pinions on which it soars in the heaven, but also with the beak and claws by which it secures its prey. The association of bird beaks with hunting luck is quite common—raven beaks for instance are used as amulets by Aleut hunters (82) and the natives of Kamtschatka and the Kuriles (83) wear puffin bills round their necks as talismans. Eagle claws were used even in 19th century Europe to cure various ills : Landt recorded in 1810 that they were applied in the Faroes as remedies for jaundice (84) ; and in Finland they were used together with bear claws for scratching the painful place (85).

A regard for the beaks and claws of eagles and other members of the family *Falconidae* can be traced far back in European prehistory. At least three cases can be cited from the Early Bronze Age of England of falcon beaks associated with burials, two of them of archers. Mortimer records ' the upper part of a hawk's head and beak ' from barrow c.38 at Driffield, East Yorkshire (86) ; it lay on the pavement of a stone cist in front of a bowman accompanied by his beaker and accoutred with bronze dagger and archer's wrist-guard of bone. Thomas Bateman had previously noted two analogous finds : ' the beak of a bird of the falcon species ' discovered among the animal bones in Slip Lowe, a small barrow near Wetton, Staffs., under which was buried a young archer accompanied by two flint arrowheads (87) ; and the lower mandible of a hawk from a barrow near Stakor Hill, Buxton, found with two flint implements between two inhumation burials secondary to a burial accompanied by a beaker and a piece of bronze (88). Although Thurnam refers to ' the claw of an eagle or vulture in the collection at Stourhead (89) ', there appears to be no trace of this in Colt Hoare's book or in his collection, now in Devizes Museum (90). From the Stone Cist period of south

⁸² W. Jochelson, op. cit. p. 77.

⁸³ S. Krashennikov, op. cit. p. 153.

⁸⁴ G. Landt, *A Description of the Feroe Islands*. London, 1810, p. 219.

⁸⁵ Information from Dr Itkonen.

⁸⁶ J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches*, pp. 274-5 and fig. 740 ; also Grahame Clark, *Prehistoric England*, p. 99.

⁸⁷ T. Bateman, *Vestiges*, p. 97.

⁸⁸ *Ten Years' Diggings*, p. 80. The Director of the City Museum, Sheffield, Mr J. W. Baggaley, kindly informs me that this is still preserved in the Bateman Collection (J.93.549) and that it agrees in size with the mandible of a Peregrine Falcon. In the Appendix to his *Ten Years' Diggings* (p. 299), Bateman refers to two species of *Falconidae* from his excavations 'unrecognizable from the remains, but one rather large'.

⁸⁹ *Archaeologia*, XLIII, p. 541.

⁹⁰ I have to thank Mrs M. E. Cunnington for kindly verifying this.

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Sweden one can cite four eagle claws, perforated for suspension, found together with a bone pin in grave 2 of barrow 1 at Abekås, Skivarps sn., Scania (91). Lastly, it is worth noting that the Danish mesolithic site Hallebygaarde yielded the claw joint of a White-tailed Eagle showing distinct cut-marks (92). These beaks and claws are concrete evidence for the regard in which the eagle and its relations were held in prehistoric Europe. If ever a prehistoric arrow is found with its feathers intact, the odds are long that these will prove to come from the pinions or tail of an eagle.

APPENDIX

LIST OF FINDS OF REMAINS OF GREAT AUK FROM PREHISTORIC SITES

NB. Numbers shown in brackets refer to numbers of individuals represented.

Pleistocene.

- La Cotte de St. Brelade (1) J. Hawkes, *The Archaeology of the Channel Islands*, vol. II, p. 153.
 Devil's Tower, Gibraltar (1) D. M. A. Bate, *J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, LVIII (1928), pp. 107-8.
 Grotta Romanelli (1) G. A. Blanc, *Arch. per l'Antrop. e la Etnologia*, I (1920), pp. 79-80.

Post-glacial.

- British Isles : *Obanian midden* : Caisteal-nan-Gilleann, Oronsay (2) S. Grieve, 1885, p. 53.
Sandhill sites : Whitechurch, Waterford (6/8) and Whitepark Bay, Antrim (8/20), *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, 1899, p. 440.
Brochs : Ayre, Orkney (1), *British Birds*, 1908, pp. 309-11. Elsay, Caithness B.M. Nat. Hist. (Inform. D. M. A. Bate). Keiss, Caithness (2) *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xxxv, p. 127.
No date : Whitburn Lizards (1) *Nat. Hist. Trans. North., Durham and Newcastle*, VII, pp. 361-4.
 France : *Mesolithic* : Téviec (1) M. Boule in Péquart, op. cit. p. 102.
Neolithic : Er Yoc'h (1) *Rev. anthrop.*, xxxvi, pp. 206-11.
 Denmark : *Mesolithic* : Ertebølle (1), Gudumlund (3), Havelse (1), Havnö (2), Meilgaard (5), Sejro (2 ; 1 young). H. Winge, 1903, op. cit. p. 98.
Neolithic : Klintesö (7), Sölager (frags. humerus), *ibid.*
 Sweden : *Mesolithic* : Rotekärrslid (2) P. Henrici, *Göteborgs och Bohusl. fornminnesför. Tidskr.*, 1935, p. 35.
Iron Age : Grebbestad (1), *ibid.*
 Norway : *Mesolithic* : Viste (common) A. W. Brögger, op. cit. p. 9-11. Kvernevik, T. Hellieson, *Stavanger mus. aarsh.*, 1900.
Neolithic : Askvik, Dønna (3 ; 2 young) *K.N.V.S.S.*, 1919, p. 17. Valseshulen, Kristiansund (1) *K.N.V.S.S.*, 1910.*
Neolithic Iron Age : Bjørnerem, Mien (1 from each of two caves) *K.N.V.S.S.*, 1912, pp. 8, 20.
Iron Age : Halmöy, Flatanger (1 from each of three caves) *K.N.V.S.S.*, 1919.
 Hestneshulen, Dolm (1) *K.N.V.S.S.*, 1910, pp. 16-9.

ABBREVIATION

K.N.V.S.S. Kongelige Norske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter.

⁹¹ J.-E. Forssander, 'Från hällkisttid och äldre bronsålder i Skåne', *Medd. Lunds univ. hist. mus.*, 1931-2, p. 8-24. See p. 15 and fig. 3, no. 5.

⁹² M. Degerböl in Mathiassen *et al.*, op. cit. p. 200. A claw joint of a White-tailed Eagle, artificially perforated, was found in an Iron Age urn in a barrow at Holme, south of Aarhus (H. Winge, 1903, op. cit. p. 101).

Sutton Hoo and Beowulf*

by SUNE LINDQVIST

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(Translator's note: A number of footnotes have been added by the translator to clarify various points for English readers. These notes terminate with the letters Tr. to make them distinguishable from the author's footnotes).

SWEDISH archaeologists have followed with great excitement and the most lively interest the already numerous writings on the remarkable Sutton Hoo excavations of 1939 and the exceptionally significant objects that came to light there.

Much surprise was occasioned by the news of the Coroner's Inquest—something unfamiliar to Swedes—at which the legal title to the find was decided with the help of the passages in *Beowulf* describing the passing of Scyld and the lavish furnishing of Beowulf's memorial mound:—

‘They left the wealth of nobles to the earth to keep—left the gold in the ground, where it still exists, as unprofitable to men as it had been before’.

A Swedish court of law would probably not let itself be influenced by, shall we say, quotations from the Edda. When, however, it was a matter of getting past the English law's not very clearly thought out definition of Treasure Trove, there was certainly good reason, and especially in this instance, to cite *Beowulf*. For it is generally accepted that *Beowulf* was composed in about A.D. 700, that is to say, while many of those who had witnessed the burial at Sutton Hoo were still alive.

The decisive factor in dating the tumulus is the forty small gold coins preserved in the purse worn at the belt. They are Merovingian, not English. Frankish coins of this period are numerous, but very difficult to date. The Keeper of Coins in the British Museum, Mr John Allan, however, is prepared to state that this group of coins had certainly been brought together after A.D. 650 and most probably not until about (1) A.D. 670.

Attempts have been made to fix the date of the burial still more precisely by establishing at what point within the span of years indicated by the coins a funeral lay-out of this unique kind was historically possible; and whether the grave could be associated with any historical figure whose year of death was known. The most recent attempt of this kind is that of Mr R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford. He has reached the conclusion admittedly put forward only with express reservations, that the tumulus was erected for the East Anglian king Aethelhere. In this case the burial took place at the end of A.D. 655 or the beginning of A.D. 656.

Mr Bruce-Mitford bases this conclusion on two main assumptions, neither of which in my opinion is tenable.

* Translated from the Swedish by R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, F.S.A.

¹ What Mr Allan actually said was ‘I have little doubt the date is nearer A.D. 670’ (*The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial*, British Museum, 1947, p. 42). (Tr.)

One rests upon the fact that no trace of any human body was found in the tumulus, which is consequently considered to be a cenotaph. Aethelhere would very likely have had a cenotaph. He died in a battle in Yorkshire of which Bede says that more were drowned than perished by the sword, and very possibly Aethelhere's was one of the bodies not recovered.

Against this it may be said that the absence of distinguishable remains of the human body in a tumulus does not mean that no bones had ever been there. Experience from Valsgärde shows that the wasting away of the human body, except for quite insignificant remnants, is practically the general rule. This is even the case in boat-graves in which animal bones are quite well preserved. It was not until 1947, when we expected to excavate the tenth boat-grave, that we found in the burial ground a funeral lay-out that seemed to deserve the name of cenotaph. It was practically without contents.

The other assumption runs as follows :—the manner of burial was typically that of the pagan Germans. Aethelhere was the last of the East Anglian kings who could have had a pagan burial. His brother and successor Aethelwald (2) showed himself a zealous Christian, and any relapse into paganism after his time was inconceivable (3).

I must strenuously deny that the lavish furnishing of the grave is any proof of a heathen attitude of mind, or of heathen desires. Admittedly most of those who were laid to rest in the Uppland boat-graves were probably heathen. But the main reason why lavish boat-burials were maintained at Vendel and Valsgärde for five centuries without interruption was not so much that the people were heathen, but, I think, that in both cases a family of yeoman-farmers that was proud of its ancestry piously kept up a family tradition. The most I can claim is that religious motives may have played a part when the first richly-furnished inhumations took place in each of these two cemeteries. These earliest graves belong to a time when Scandinavia, and not least Uppland, was subjected to such strong influences from the continent that we can suppose this new method of burial (viz. richly furnished inhumations) to be an adaptation of southern customs. In Southwest Germany, Switzerland, and North and Central Italy—the countries from which the Vendel culture derived its formative influences—graves furnished with weapons, food containers and so on have been found in not inconsiderable numbers. These graves, although they lack boats, can with advantage be regarded as models for the Uppland burials. Many of them contained an equal-armed cross cut out of sheet gold. These crosses were presumably fastened to the dead person's grave clothes, and no doubt designate him as a christian.

In my book 'Uppsala högar och Ottarshögen' I tried with the aid of literary and archaeological documents to distinguish the two methods of burial that were most sharply differentiated and that vied with one another in Germanic lands in the Migration and Viking periods.

One method was cremation, which was believed to ensure for the dead man a quick journey to a distant Valhalla. Germanic cremation, like its Roman equivalent, *consecratio*, was preceded by every kind of display for the entertainment of the people. It was evidently in deference to the public enthusiasm for displays of this kind that the Romans, according to Herodian, when the dead Emperor did not belong to a family that cremated its dead, burnt a wax image instead.

The other method was inhumation. This was usually associated with the idea that

² d. A.D. 663 or 664. (Tr.)

³ Bruce-Mitford considers on good grounds that we can exclude the possibility that the man commemorated or buried at Sutton Hoo was a foreigner in the district. See below.

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the dead man was waiting in the grave for a future resurrection in the flesh. The Christian church shared this view. Nearly three centuries before the Sutton Hoo burial, Prudentius wrote in his *Hymn for the burial of the Dead*, which is still in regular use today, the following lines :—

Nam quod requiescere corpus
vacuum sine mente videmus
spatium breve restat, ut alti
repetat collegia sensus.

Veniet cito saecula, cum jam
socius calor ossa revisat
animataque sanguine vivo
habacula pristina gestet.

Quae pigra cadavera pridem
tumulis putrefacta jacebant,
volucres rapiuntur in auras
animas comitata priores.

Hinc maxime cura sephulchris
impenditur, hinc resolutos
honor ultimus accipit artus
et funeris ambitus ornat.

Candore nitentia claro
praetendere mos est
aspersaque myrra Sabaeo
corpus medicamine servat.

Quidnam sibi saxa cauvata
quid pulchra volunt monumenta
nisi quod res creditur illis
non mortua sed data somno ?

Hoc provida christicolarum
pietas studet utpote credens
fore protinus omnia viva,
quae nunc gelidus sapor urget.

For that we see the body rest
deserted by the mind,
't is but a little while that it remains alone,
ere it regain its converse with the thinking soul on high.

Soon shall those ages come
when wonted heat again shall visit the dry bones
and through the dwelling of the soul restored
the life-blood as of old shall flow.

Those sluggish corpses which were lying
mouldering long within the tomb
shall be borne up into the vapid air
associate with their former souls.

Good reason have we then for this
to tend the sepulchre with loving care
and pay due honour to the lifeless limbs
with graceful pomp of funeral obsequies.

Linen clothes of lustrous whiteness
over the corpse our custom is to spread
Myrrh with Sabaeon odours sprinkled
preserves the body uncorrupt.

What mean those excavated rocks,
what mean those fair memorial tombs ?
but that a thing is given to their care
not dead, but laid asleep ?

This is the thought that prompts the pious care
of Christian worshippers : Surely we hold,
that all, which now lies motionless and cold,
oppressed with torpid sleep, will one day live (4).

It is clear that the Church's demand for the observance of burial rites in accordance with such expectations would create difficulties when the convert was a member of a proud family amongst whom cremation rites were practised with the authority of long usage. The changeover would be the more difficult if the Church were also to ban a great part of the circus-like celebrations, by which cremation ceremonies were preceded, and to which the public looked forward so keenly. Perhaps however the transition would be easier if the survivors had the chance of demonstrating that the traditional festivities were not being curtailed out of stinginess. It is thus probable that the Church did not hinder new converts from furnishing their dead with everything that they could wish to have, in order to step forth on resurrection-day with all the pomp to which their station in life had accustomed them.

Against this background the Sutton Hoo burial is revealed as without doubt Christian, prepared for a convert. The very fact that such a wealth of grave goods is not met with in the preceding centuries shows it. The discovery of two silver spoons

⁴ *Hymn for the burial of the Dead*, by Aurelius Prudentius Clemens. (Cathemerinon x), translated by G. Morison, 1886.

marked Paul or Saul (5) (? christening presents) and of nine shallow silver bowls decorated with great crosses, both testify moreover to the christian character of the grave. A centrally placed cross also appears in the gold jewellery (6). The significance of this symbol cannot have been unknown to those whose task it was to select objects for the burial.

If we are to look for the owner of the Sutton Hoo grave amongst the East Anglian Royal family, which I too consider natural, but by no means certain, we therefore have more reason to choose Aethelwald, who seems to have shown himself a zealous christian, than his pagan-minded brother. Aethelwald's death can moreover be fixed in A.D. 663 or 664, which is eight or nine years nearer the date that the study of the coins indicates as the most probable for the burial. If this still appears too early, we should then have to consider Aethelwald's successor. He died in A.D. 713. A date of deposition as late as this is archaeologically hardly possible.

Another factor supports the argument that the Church did not prohibit the deposition of grave goods. It is that the Church probably preferred to arrange that the offerings for the dead should be transferred to its own possession, rather than cease altogether. When this had in fact been brought about, it is well known that the Christian clergy, if they did not actively further its maintenance, at least tolerated it to the full. There are many evidences and accounts of how in the Middle Ages, and in fact well into the 17th century, in the case of royal and noble burials, the dead man's horse and armour were handed over to the church. How quickly this transference was accomplished is shown by many Germanic cemeteries of the Migration period on the continent. In these, not only does lavish grave-furnishing cease, but also graves with a medium degree of furnishing were superseded, in the course of a few generations, almost without exception, by poor graves containing only the shrouded body. Only in the North, where the power of the Church was not so quickly established, could lavish burial be practised without a break for another five centuries.

It must be noted that the view taken above, that the Sutton Hoo burial is Christian, does not exclude the possibility that the treasure was buried in public, as was maintained at the 1939 Coroner's Inquest.

A surprising feature at Sutton Hoo, and one that lacks any parallel in known Merovingian graves on the Continent, was the ship under the mound. This phenomenon naturally brought to mind the Swedish boat-burials of the same period. The possibility that the Sutton Hoo grave had been fitted out for a northern, most likely Swedish, prince, was discussed at an early stage by English archaeologists. A champion of this view has also been found in Sweden. After studying the very rich collections in the custody of the British Museum for nearly three weeks last summer, however, I consider, as Bruce-Mitford has already maintained, that this interpretation is out of the question.

An assemblage of finds of this kind is undoubtedly at home on English soil. Teutonic elements, or to be more exact, and as the location suggests, Anglian elements, predominate. Three bronze hanging-bowls, however, with enamelled escutcheons that hold the suspension-rings, and with other rich mounts, show the adoption (7) of traditions of craftsmanship from the Celtic-British milieu. With the exception of the coins, most if not all of the gold-work is the product of workshops in the British Isles.

⁵ 'Paulus eller Saulus' . . . (Tr.)

⁶ On the two scabbard-bosses. (Tr.)

⁷ 'Upptagandet'. (Tr.)

It is true that Bruce-Mitford says of the great gold belt-buckle, weighing 14½ ounces, which he calls with some justification the most outstanding artistically amongst the gold pieces, that it would seem in no way (8) out of place amongst the contents of the earlier boat-graves at Vendel. It would indeed not be absurd to suppose that a similar buckle, at any rate in silver or bronze, might turn up in one of the yeoman-farmer burials of Uppland that we have already mentioned. If it did, however, it would certainly be regarded not as Swedish but as imported from the Continent, as in the case of a buckle from grave xiv at Tuna in Alsike, or of a buckle and a pair of sword-hilts from Endre in Gotland.

Several of the rich garnet-encrusted pieces—the sword, a row of strictly rectangular strap-mounts that belong to the sword-belt, and others—show a characteristic style otherwise known from Childeric's grave and several other continental finds, and also from northern (chiefly Swedish) graves and treasure-hoards. These continental and Scandinavian pieces are very closely related to the objects I have mentioned from Sutton Hoo, but seldom so finely executed. Everything seems to show that pieces of this type were made by itinerant master-craftsmen, whom mighty men from far and near competed to attach to their courts. On the other hand, other pieces amongst the gold jewellery—for instance, the purse, the shoulder-clasps and the elegant scabbard bosses—are products of the industry of one or more local craftsmen of very high standing.

The rich stock of silver vessels probably has more diverse origins than the jewellery. Among them is one which has a special interest for our argument. Two stamps on the great dish surprise us by showing that we have here a piece hall-marked in Byzantium in the reign of Anastasius I (A.D. 491-518).

This piece, in good condition yet demonstrably between 150 and 175 years old when it was buried in the mound, gives us a valuable but certainly not surprising reminder of how careful we have to be in dating individual objects in a big find, even when we think we know the date of deposition. There is no doubt that several other objects from Sutton Hoo were made two generations, and in certain cases, many more than two generations, before A.D. 670. We can in particular postulate a greater antiquity for two items of armour that are of exceptional interest to Swedish observers—the helmet and the shield. Both were excavated in a very fragmentary condition, and have been put together again, or to be more correct, reconstructed, by Herbert Maryon, who has also published well-illustrated accounts of his work.

Thanks to the ready co-operation of the British Museum staff, I had the opportunity last summer of subjecting these objects to a very close scrutiny. As the detailed study of the whole find must be left to Mr Bruce-Mitford, I will confine myself to the expression of some fresh views of a rather general kind supplementing what is known from illustrations and papers already published by English investigators.

In my opinion, the reconstruction of the shield needs correction in several important details. If these corrections are made, the astonishing agreement with various parallels at Ulltuna, Vendel, Valsgärde and Vallstenarum becomes even more pronounced. The technique of manufacture is exactly the same. The significance of this is however decreased by the fact that the type is clearly dependent on models known from South West Germany and Italy. The stamped gold sheet that covered one of originally several

⁸ Cf. *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial*, British Museum, 1947, p. 54. (The great gold buckle) 'seems without doubt to have been made in England, yet the style of its main interlace is strikingly like that of ornaments in the Swedish boat-graves. In fact, the buckle would not, *in point of style*, seem unduly out of place amongst the material from the earlier boat-graves in the Vendel cemetery' (my italics: Tr.).

rhomboid ornamental strips on the shield, and which has been rather unsatisfactorily reconstructed and illustrated by Maryon (9), is very closely related to the strip from Vendel he reproduces alongside it, and that shown in Stolpe and Arne, Pl. xxxix, 9 (10).

The Sutton Hoo shield is obviously made with greater care and more costly materials than any Swedish shields known as yet—that is to say, it was made for a more fastidious patron. Nevertheless I see no reason why it should not have been made on Swedish soil. If so, it was most likely made on Gotland or in Uppland. This possibility will be strengthened if it proves to be the case that not even any fragmentary remains of really similar shields occur on other English sites.

The shield was no doubt of appreciable age when it was buried in the tumulus. Before then it had been despoiled of several fittings, and parts of others were missing. An attempt had however been made, with obvious care, to remedy these deficiencies, at any rate to the eye. The missing parts were made good in gilded gesso—an unexpected parallel with modern conservation technique.

Similar shields from Vallstenarum, and from Graves I and XII at Vendel, may perhaps provide dating evidence, although these too seem to have been of considerable age when buried in their respective graves. If one must give a date in years for the manufacture of the Sutton Hoo shield, I say about A.D. 600; but with reservations in favour of a possibly still earlier date.

The reconstruction of the Sutton Hoo helmet also needs revision in certain respects. Already however it is clear that its similarities with the Swedish helmets from Vendel, grave XIV and Valsgärde, graves 5, 7 and 8 are very great. One of the bronze sheets stamped with figure subjects on the Sutton Hoo helmet finds on the helmet from Valsgärde 7 (11) its only parallel yet known. Another Sutton Hoo helmet scene is more fully paralleled on a gold foil disc from Württemberg (12), than on the helmets from Valsgärde 7 and 8. The helmet found in England seems more carefully made than the Swedish ones, but even so, it was of course never considered as a really worthy companion-piece for the objects of gold and garnets that were buried in the same grave.

In its neck, cheek and face-guards (this last set somewhat awry in the reconstruction) the Sutton Hoo helmet undoubtedly shows more archaic forms than do the other helmets. The derivation of the type from similar late classical helmets, which I suggested in Fornvännen 1925 (13), now seems even more likely. In the ornamentation of the Sutton Hoo helmet pure Style II is wholly absent, but it is foreshadowed on stamped bronze sheets decorated in the manner that Greta Arwidsson has designated 'Vendel Style A' (14). This is a style that clearly imitates animal ornament in gold foil and filigree of the period before c. A.D. 500. Some time ago I ventured to put forward the opinion that the helmet from Vendel grave XIV was made about A.D. 500. In the case of the Sutton Hoo helmet, I must reckon that it is not much later than the Anastasius dish.

It is thus clear that both helmet and shield were antiques when they were buried in the Sutton Hoo grave. Why did they appear in this context?

⁹ ANTIQUITY, XX, 1946, p. 7, fig. 8(a).

¹⁰ H Stolpe and T. J. Arne, *La Nécropole de Vendel*, Stockholm, 1927.

¹¹ Not yet published. For a provisional reconstruction of this scene as it appears on the Sutton Hoo helmet, see *The Archaeological News Letter*, no 2, May 1948, p. 6, and *Örd. och Bild*, Årg. 57, 3, 1948, p. 102. (Tr.)

¹² W. Veeck, *Die Alamannen in Württemberg*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1931, Textband, Taf. H 1a, 1b. W. Holmqvist, *Kunstprobleme der Merowingerzeit*, Stockholm 1939, Taf. xxiii, 5. (Tr.)

¹³ Sune Lindqvist; *Vendelhjälmarernas ursprung*, p. 201 *et seq.* (Tr.)

¹⁴ See Greta Arwidsson, *Vendelstile*, Uppsala 1942. (Tr.)

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Before the question can be definitely answered, we first need to be fully acquainted with the numerous drinking-horns, with stamped foil and other ornament, that are included in the find. The British Museum has not yet restored these drinking-horns. I personally have only a fleeting acquaintance with them. The three drawings already published, however, also provide instances of Vendel Style A. It is possible that the ornament of the helmet may be found on the evidence of the drinking-horn mounts to fit better into the English milieu than appears at present. At any rate the fact remains that near prototypes of the helmet and shield forms under discussion were in use amongst Germanic peoples along and south of the part of the Roman frontier that followed the line of the upper Danube. The forms might have spread direct from these people both to England and to various parts of what is now Swedish territory. It is also possible that in special circumstances an Anglian family may have acted as intermediary between South and North.

We must also consider some problems of another kind.

The following sentence occurs in the long Runic text on the Rökstone :—

‘ I tell the young man which were the two war-booties, that were taken as booty twelve times, both together from one man after another (15) ’.

Beowulf too speaks of war-booties that were handed on from man to man. It is therefore not impossible that the helmet and shield were trophies of this kind, in which case they could of course tell us nothing of the nationality of the man buried at Sutton Hoo.

Another explanation seems more attractive, however. *Beowulf* often refers, and undoubtedly with justification, to the existence of inherited weapons, for instance, the ancient sword (*ealdsweord*, lines 1558 and 1663) which *Beowulf* snatched down from the wall in the course of his fight in the dragon’s cave, and with which he cut off the heads of Grendel and his mother.

In the Swedish boat-graves of the later Vendel period it is the rule that some objects, particularly those that would have made good wall-decorations—for instance, helmets and shields—bear the impress of a considerably more ancient style than that of the most recent objects in the graves in which they occur. They had evidently been in the family ‘armoury’ a long time before they were taken down to follow their dead owner. This being so, it naturally often happened that the weapons in a grave in fact belong to different periods and workshops.

The fact that a ship was included in the dead man’s outfit at Sutton Hoo makes it particularly tempting to follow the evidence of the Swedish burials just mentioned, and regard the Sutton Hoo shield and helmet as family heirlooms. For so far as is yet known, boat-burial, if we except Sutton Hoo, occurs at this period only in Uppland, where by the date of the Sutton Hoo burial, it may already have had near enough a century of tradition behind it.

The inclination to call the owner of the Sutton Hoo treasures a Swedish chief is thus quite understandable. But that is certainly too precipitate.

The rich ship-burial belongs to a group of eleven tumuli. One of these was rather more than 30 metres in diameter, that is to say, broader than the mound over the great ship-burial, which was however higher. Four of the others were of much the same breadth as the mound over the great ship-burial—viz. about 26 metres ; four more were about 20 metres broad, and one, 15 metres. Rather unproductive excavations were

¹⁵ An English version of O. von Friesen’s 1920 rendering into Swedish. (Tr.)

made in three of these tumuli in 1938. In one of them—the broadest of the group—a boat $5\frac{1}{2}$ metres long was found.

Judging from external appearances, at least one of the tumuli excavated in 1938 had been robbed. Mr C. W. Phillips, who led the excavation of the great ship-burial, has already made the suggestion that these supposed traces of plundering—depressions in the surface of the mound—might have been caused, as in the boat-graves at Vendel, by the filling up of a cavity or chamber inside the mound when its wooden roof or covering had perished.

The soundness of this suggestion is largely borne out by the observations of Fil. lic. Bertil Almgren, when he visited the Sutton Hoo site in Autumn 1947. He has kindly allowed me to pass on these observations here. Several of the still unexcavated mounds have a very broad flat top across which runs a weakly-marked longitudinal depression. Their external appearances remind one forcibly of boat-graves 5, 6 and 7 at Valsgärde (A.D. 600-700). Mr Bruce-Mitford has also told me that there are very likely boat-graves amongst the mounds not yet excavated. Like Almgren, he has seen both the Sutton Hoo and the Valsgärde burial grounds.

Some if not all of these boat-graves may well prove to have been made before the great ship-burial. In all probability then, the contact between England and Uppland, which the presence of boat-graves in both places indicates, was established at the earlier period suggested by the shield and helmet. Whether England was the giver or the receiver in this contact we cannot yet say. The only thing that is clear at present is that the ship no more proves the great burial to be that of a Swedish chief, than do the helmet and shield.

Study of the finds and the manner of burial thus leaves us uncertain whether the elements common to England and Sweden are English or Swedish in origin. In this uncertainty we may perhaps look for assistance to material of quite a different kind—the Beowulf epic.

If the Sutton Hoo helmet and shield really are Swedish pieces of A.D. 500-600, then they represent an intrusion of ancient northern elements in an otherwise clearly Anglian milieu of about A.D. 670. When we think of Beowulf it strikes us at once that the presence, in an Anglian poem of about A.D. 700 of ancient lays about northern heroes of the 6th century and their internal strifes, constitutes an intrusion of exactly the same kind.

When considering the problem of how Beowulf came to appear in its Anglian context, we need not now place so much emphasis on the fact that the poem chiefly describes events from the point of view of the Geats or Danes, while the Swedes are as a rule cast only in the role of enemies of the Geats.

Much could also be gained in other ways by a closer comparison between Sutton Hoo and Beowulf. I have tried to show earlier on that the rich grave must be regarded as a typically christian arrangement, but only conceivable during a period of transition from paganism which was of very short duration in all parts of England. A mere thirty years later, when Beowulf was created, the Sutton Hoo burial, and any other lavishly furnished burials of the same kind, would have seemed oddities that needed special explanation.

The first and most natural explanation would be that they were final performances of a heathen custom that had been usual in ancient times.

Beowulf's Christian author apparently thought this. More than twenty years ago I tried to elucidate his detailed description of Beowulf's pyre and memorial mound (16).

¹⁶ Sune Lindqvist; *Uppsala högar och Ottarshögen*, Stockholm, 1936. With English summary. Especially pp. 347, 348. (Tr.)

I found that it could not possibly be said to correspond with actual practice as revealed by archaeology. It was not even plausible. His account seemed to me to contain the remnants of one or more earlier descriptions of cremations which were authentic in themselves, but which the later narrator did not wholly understand, and so set down in an incorrect sequence. These older fragments seemed to me to have been included in passages, written by the composer himself, that lacked historical authority. Thus after the description of the building and firing of the pyre, we read an account of the subsequent construction of the memorial mound. The words chosen to describe the building of the memorial mound, however, seem to me to show that the scald was making use at this point of a passage from an older poem that really referred to the construction, not of the memorial mound of some other hero, but of his *pyre*, a hollow construction of logs, reminiscent of a beacon.

It surprised me still more to find how, at the end, the completed memorial mound was consecrated, with solemn rites, and how rich grave-goods were then put into it. This not only conflicts with all probability and with all the evidence of archaeology, but also with the instructions, given earlier in the poem, that the dragon's gold was to be burned with the dead man.

I now find all this easier to understand. The Christian scald imagined that lavish burials, after the fashion of the one, still remembered in his own day (17), at Sutton Hoo, and notions then current, such as leaving the grave-goods unburned in the ground, were the rule in more ancient times too. So he contrived to finish off not only the burial description, but the whole poem, with the very words and outlook that it seemed natural to apply to the Sutton Hoo burial at the later Coroner's Inquest (18). For the same reasons, he allows the first character he introduces (Scyld) to receive a very rich furnishing after death, and even burial in a ship—a clear anachronism.

In Beowulf the early English scald patched together with great care all the fragments of northern lays that he knew. Can his purpose in so doing have been to honour a Royal House—the Uffingas?—which proudly cherished its northern origins?

If so, Beowulf finds many analogies amongst other of the older literary compositions in prose and verse. I will mention only the Ynglingatal, which at any rate in its definitive form was declaimed by a Norse scald in honour of a Norse family that laid claim to Swedish origin. The plan he set himself—to name various ancestors of the family and to describe their deaths and burials—gave him plenty of scope to make references to the Norse family burial mounds well known in his own day. Apart from this, his scheme was similar to that which Jordanes expressly set himself in the introduction to his History of the Goths.

Having gone thus far in the field of guesswork, I must not stop half-way. If Beowulf really was written for a dynasty that prided itself on its northern origins, some member of that dynasty ought to be named in it. The principal hero of the poem, Beowulf himself, is excluded. He evidently left no descendants. Who then should it be but the brave nobleman, who alone dared follow Beowulf in his last fight with the dragon, and who afterwards saw to his burial? The Scald presents him thus: (line 2602).

‘He was called Wiglaf, son of Weohstan (19), a much-loved shield-warrior, a Scyfling prince, Kinsman of Aelfhere’.

‘Scylfings’ or ‘Skilfings’ is recognized as a name for the Royal House of Uppsala.

¹⁷ I agreed earlier on with the view expressed at the Coroner's Inquest that the burial took place in public.

¹⁸ e.g. above, p. 131. (Tr.)

¹⁹ Wehha?

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So I have arrived at a surprisingly precise pronouncement on the question of nationality. My conclusion—that the Uffingas were in origin Swedes, a branch of the Royal House of Uppsala and descendants of Wiglaf—is as ambitious a claim as can reasonably be made from the Swedish side.

It is doubtful however whether Beowulf can provide a reliable answer to the question I asked above (p. 139, lines 27, 28). Furthermore, the question was asked in an effort to supply the last link in what has been in any case a long and airy chain of arguments. The most proper course is therefore to bide our time. We need fuller knowledge in many respects, both of the finds already made, and of many new discoveries that spade and trowel may yet bring to light. For the time being, we must be content to clarify the problems as far as we are able. There are various ways of doing so.

At all events it is obvious that the *rapprochement* that was at once made between the Sutton Hoo burial and the substance of Beowulf was fully warranted, and rich with possibilities. Everything seems to show that these two documents complement one another admirably. Both become the clearer by the comparison.

The Phoenicians on the West Coast of Africa

by D. B. HARDEN

IN the present state of our knowledge of the true extent of the Phoenician accomplishment in their homelands in the Mediterranean, it may seem foolhardy to try to evaluate their achievements in West Africa, or indeed anywhere else on the periphery of their sphere of influence. The attempt has, however, been made in the past, nearly always from the purely historical aspect, and my excuse for essaying it once again is that the time seems to have come to emphasize how archaeology could help to shed light on their colonial and mercantile activities in those regions.

Before 1200 B.C. the Phoenician cities on the Syrian coast had sent out colonies to Cyprus, Rhodes and possibly Crete, and, not much later, farther west to Utica and even Gades, if we are to believe our ancient sources (1). These colonies and others, situated at the most strategical points in the Mediterranean, were important vantage-places from which to curb the Greek spread westwards. They kept the Greeks from any real foothold west of a line drawn from Cumae to Selinus, apart from an enclave in the Gulf of Lions.

The west Phoenicians soon fell under the sway and leadership of Carthage, a process made all the easier by the difficulties their parent cities were experiencing at this time from Assyrian aggression, so that by 600 B.C. Carthage was the most important power in the western Mediterranean, not excluding the Etruscans. The latter, so far as we know, were content to control the Italian peninsula north of Cumae, with perhaps Corsica besides, and to leave the rest of the western Mediterranean to Carthage (2). The way was thus clear for Carthaginians to push as far as their adventurous spirit would allow in a western direction. Not only that. By this time also Carthage controlled the land routes southwards into the Sahara, for Egyptian domination never spread far to the west of the Nile valley, and the Greeks at Cyrene and elsewhere were content to stick to the coastlands.

How much did she profit from this situation? The question is easy to ask, difficult to answer. There is so far scarcely a shred—I had almost said sherd—of archaeological evidence for the Phoenicians on the African mainland (3) west of Gouraya in

¹ Tradition (Velleius Paterculus, I, 2, 4; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi, 216; Aristotle, *de mirab. auscult.*, 134) puts the date of foundation of Utica and Gades at about 1100 B.C., i.e. 300 years before Carthage, founded in 814 B.C. There is no archaeological reason why these dates should not be accepted, though, if they are true, we have yet to discover traces of the earliest settlements at each site.

² There is one hint, no more, in Diodorus (v, 20) that the Etruscans sometimes had western dreams. After describing how a Carthaginian ship, blown out of its course into the Atlantic, discovered a large island with a good climate (probably one of the Madeiras) Diodorus adds that the Etruscans, who were strong on the sea at that time (so that it must have been before their defeat by Hiero of Syracuse at Cumae, 474 B.C.), wanted to found a colony there, but the Carthaginians, though friendly to the Etruscans, put them off.

³ I use the word mainland advisedly in view of the eight Carthaginian and one Cyrenaican coins of the 3rd century B.C. found as part of a hoard in a clay vase on Corvo Island in the Azores in 1749. The coins were published by a Swede called Podolyn in 1778, having been given to him in Madrid. Podolyn's story is cited in full by R. Hennig, *Terrae Incognitae* (Leiden, 1936), I, 109 ff., who republished Podolyn's plate, having tried unsuccessfully to trace the actual coins. A different version, based on another source, is given by Gsell, *Hist. de l'Afr. du Nord*, IV, 142.

Algeria (4) or south of the Atlas range. Our answer therefore must still be based on an evaluation of the statements, which are often conflicting and of dubious validity, in our ancient sources, however much we may look forward to better things in the future.

We must begin, clearly, with Hanno who, though not the earliest of the travellers provides us with the fullest and the only true Carthaginian source we now possess. His voyage, which is normally dated c. 525–500 B.C. for reasons which I will not set out in detail, was an official expedition, the main purpose of which was to found colonies and/or to repopulate existing trading-stations. We know his story at first remove, i.e. in a Greek translation of the short description of his journey set up in the temple of Saturn (Baal Hammon) at Carthage on his return. It is important to remember that it is in a Greek translation, and that our only ms., Codex Heidelbergensis 398, dates from the 10th century A.D., for this must put us on our guard against expecting complete verbal accuracy, especially in figures of distances, which are very liable to error in transcription by scribes. We must also remember that the story is very short and terse, no more than 600 Greek words in all (5).

Hanno tells us that he set sail with 60 ships and 30,000 men and women, under orders from the government to proceed outside the Pillars of Heracles and found cities of Libyphoenicians (6). His first action took place two days sail from the Pillars, where he founded a city which he called Thymiaterium, the site of which is generally agreed to be that of the modern Mehedia. Next he founded a temple to Poseidon (7) at Soloeis (Cape Cantin), and passing thence by a lagoon, probably the marshes of the river Tensift, he settled five more cities which he called Carian Fortress, Gytte, Acra, Melitta and Arambys (8). Southward of this he came to the river Lixus (undoubtedly the river Draa) which he calls 'a great river flowing from Libya' and where he found a pastoral people, the Lixitae, with whom he stayed for a while and made friends. In the interior hereabouts, he says, there were inhospitable Ethiopians and cave-dwellers, living in a land full of wild beasts and broken up by great mountains, the Anti-Atlas range. The Lixitae would be Berbers, the Ethiopians, as usual in antiquity, black men.

These Lixitae were of great help to Hanno in providing him with interpreters who joined him for the rest of his journey—an important point, for it indicates that they were partially, at least, familiar with the regions further south.

Three days sail along the desert (i.e. the Sahara) from the Lixitae's country Hanno found a small island of five stades (c. 1,000 yards) circumference in the recess of a gulf, where he founded a settlement and called it Cerne. He adds that this island was about the same distance from the Pillars of Heracles as Carthage was.

⁴ See, however, de la Martinière in *Bull. Archéologique*, 1890, 134 ff. for possible traces of the Phoenician settlement underlying later levels at Lixus (Larache in Spanish Morocco; not the river Lixus of Hanno, see below). The evidence M. cites is insufficient to prove Phoenician presence and the site should be revisited, now that we know so much more about what to look for.

⁵ The Greek text is best consulted in C. Müller's edition, *Geog. Graec. Minores*, I (Paris, 1855), I ff.

⁶ Libyphoenicians can mean either Phoenicians from Africa or African allies or vassals of the Carthaginians; the former is certainly meant here.

⁷ It is not known what Phoenician deity is represented here in the Greek text by the name Poseidon.

⁸ The first is generally accepted now to have been at or near Mogador; the third name is thought to represent modern Agadir; the other three are unidentifiable, though clearly in the same general neighbourhood.



The position of Cerne is the crucial point in the story, for it is the last colony founded by Hanno and the farthest permanent settlement of Phoenicians on the African coast mentioned by any ancient writer. Unfortunately its site cannot be fixed with certainty. Three main identifications have been propounded (9):

1. The modern Herne island (though the modern name is not apparently based on any such identification, but arose independently).
2. The modern Arguin island.
3. An island—not exactly identified—near the Senegal delta.

But before we try to decide between these let us see, in Hanno's own words, what he did next:

‘ From here, sailing through the mouth of a big river named Chretes we came to a lake. The lake had three islands bigger than Cerne in it. Completing a day's sail from there, we reached the inner recess of the lake, above which some very high mountains rose up crowded with savages wearing skins of wild beasts, who stoned us and beat us off and prevented us from disembarking. Sailing from there we came to another big wide river full of crocodiles and hippopotamuses. We then turned again and came back to Cerne ’.

Now practically every modern commentator agrees that the big river Chretes can be nothing else than the Senegal, and the text implies that there was no great distance between Cerne and Hanno's entry through (the Greek word is *διὰ*) the river's mouth. Admittedly Herne island would be about three days' sail from the river Draa and would also be about the same distance from the Straits as Carthage (that is if Hanno meant actual mileage, rather than sailing time). But it seems most unlikely that Hanno having gone as far as the Senegal would sail right back to Herne again. It looks as if we must abandon Hanno's distances, as given in the ms., and place Cerne at or near the mouth of the Senegal. Some corroboration of such an identification is obtained from the detailed description of Phoenician traffic at Cerne given by pseudo-Scylax in his *Periplus* of the mid 4th century B.C. (see p. 147), who says that the Ethiopians at Cerne have a big city up to which the Phoenicians sail. This can only indicate a riverine city, and there is no navigable river at or near Herne, nor at the alternative site, Arguin, suggested by several commentators (10). Besides, these places are on the Saharan coast and are therefore unlikely places for the establishment of a flourishing mart for trading with a populous hinterland. If we accept Cerne as a site at or near the Senegal, the whole story, both Hanno's and that of pseudo-Scylax, falls into place and what Hanno did was to sail up one branch of the Senegal (Chretes) to a lake and down another branch (the river swarming with crocodiles and hippopotamuses). This secondary trip was not, in fact, a coasting voyage at all (11); if it had been would not Hanno have told us why he turned back, especially if, having reached the Senegal, he went all the way back to Herne or even Arguin?

Hanno set out again from Cerne and sailed south for twelve days along a coast occupied by Ethiopians, who spoke a language that the Lixitae did not understand. Then he rounded a mountainous wooded promontory, which is usually accepted as

⁹ There are, of course others, e.g. Goree island off Dakar, suggested by A. Mer (*Mémoire sur le périple d'Hannon*, Paris, 1885), but they have won little support.

¹⁰ Some commentators record a river St. Jean opposite Arguin, but Gsell (op. cit. I, 490, n. 1) rightly notes that this river 'n'existe pas'.

¹¹ As has been pointed out by E. F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris, 1942), p. 47.

Cape Verde (12), and came to an indentation of the sea, probably the mouth of the Gambia, where he saw fires flaring up by night all round, presumably nothing more nor less than fires from native settlements.

Up to this point, apart from the Cerne problem, the commentators are not too much at variance in their identification of Hanno's sites. From now on, however, differences in identification become acute, and we get, in effect, a long view and a short view of what Hanno accomplished. The latter stops Hanno at Sierra Leone, the former brings him to Camerun, or even Gabun. Hanno himself tells us that, five days from the gulf where he saw night-fires he came to another gulf which the Lixitae called the Horn of the West. In this was an island where Hanno disembarked and saw more night-fires, this time accompanied by the sound of pipes, cymbals and drums and shouting. They left there in a hurry and passed along a coast 'red-hot with fires of incense and great streams of fire plunging into the sea' (13). Leaving here they sailed another four days along a coast full of flames by night in the midst of which was an enormous fire greater than the others which seemed to touch the stars. By day they saw it was a very high mountain and 'it was called the Chariot of the Gods'. On the third day from there they came to a gulf called the Horn of the South, which also contained an island on which was a smaller island in a lake, full of wild people. Hanno then concludes his account as follows:

'By far the greater number were women with shaggy bodies, whom our interpreters called Gorillas (14). Chasing them we were unable to catch any of the men, all of whom, being used to climbing precipices, got away, defending themselves by throwing stones. But we did get three of the women, who bit and mangled those who carried them off, being unwilling to follow them. We killed them, however, and flayed them and brought their skins back to Carthage. For we did not sail any farther as our supplies gave out'.

It will be seen that Hanno's geographical indications are far from being precise, and that he does not attempt to give a full time-table of his journey during these stages. There is thus plenty of scope for theorizing. The main arguments for taking Sierra Leone as the limit of his journey are:

1. There is little or no sailing wind in the Gulf of Guinea and the torrid heat and adverse currents would make rowing too difficult (15).
2. Such time indications as Hanno does give are not considered consistent with any longer journey.

Those who bring him along the Gulf of Guinea to Camerun or Gabun maintain that the Camerun mountain, 13,370 feet high, and a volcano, is much more like Hanno's description of the Chariot of the Gods than is Kakulima mountain (2,910 feet) in French

¹² If Hanno's figures, Lixus to Cerne=3 days' sail, Cerne to the mountains=12 days, are correct, we cannot accept both Cerne=Senegal and these mountains=Cape Verde. But, as I have said above, figures in MSS. are notoriously liable to error.

¹³ These hill-side fires are usually explained as autumn burning of the grass to promote production of crops in the following spring. Mungo Park (*Travels in the interior of Africa*—London, 3rd ed., 1799—p. 259 f.) describes the same phenomenon.

¹⁴ What these really were is anyone's guess; chimpanzees, baboons, gorillas and pygmies have all been suggested. We cannot argue that they were gorillas from the name used, for when Dr T. S. Savage in 1847 discovered gorillas in Gabun he borrowed Hanno's word for a name for them (N.E.D. s.v. Gorilla).

¹⁵ H. R. Palmer, *The Carthaginian voyage to West Africa in 500 B.C.* (Bathurst, 1931), puts this argument very strongly.

Guinea, on which the shorter theorists pin their faith. What is more, the Camerun mountain is still called Mongo ma Loba, which means Mountain of Heaven (16). They cite also Arrian, *Indica*, XLIII, 11-12:

‘Hanno . . . went through the columns of Heracles, left Libya on his left, and sailed 35 days until he turned to the east. When he afterwards turned south again he encountered many difficulties, including lack of water and torrid heat and streams of fire falling in to the sea’.

This they interpret as meaning that he turned east into the Gulf of Guinea and south at the Camerun mountain.

My own preference is for the longer view, though it admittedly requires the complete abandonment of the figures of distances given in our ms. text (17). For the story of the Phoenicians on the African coast the debate is, of course, of secondary importance, for this part of the journey had no lasting effects. It is, however, worth emphasizing that Hanno's Lixite interpreters must have made this journey before and been in contact with the natives.

Apart from Hanno there are only a few sources requiring mention. First, and most interesting of all from the geographical standpoint, is Herodotus's famous story (iv, 42) of the circumnavigation of Africa from east to west by a party of Phoenicians sent out by Pharaoh Necho c. 596 B.C. The journey took three years and they stopped twice and grew crops *en passant*. The story, though short, is circumstantial. Many modern commentators accept it (18), curiously enough for the very reason that led to earlier scepticism, namely that when the sailors got a certain way they had the sun on their right. No doubt this circumnavigation had some influence towards instigating Hanno's trip, though we are not told that Hanno intended to emulate it.

The other Herodotean help we get is from his story (iv, 43) of Sataspes, a Persian, who c. 470 B.C. under Xerxes borrowed an Egyptian ship and sailed through the Pillars of Heracles and past Soloeis, but turned back as his vessel was ‘held fast’ and could go no farther. His adventures in detail are partly similar to Hanno's and the whole is clearly an echo of Hanno. It was, according to one rendering of the Greek text, the Carthaginians themselves who told it to Herodotus (19), and they probably meant to suggest that the Atlantic wasn't navigable, and to keep others away from what they considered to be their private domain.

There is, indeed, one interesting point in the tale which may be an otherwise unrecorded echo of Hanno:

‘At the farthest point which he reached he sailed by dwarfish men wearing clothes made from palm trees. When he drew his ship up on the shore, these fled to the hills, leaving their towns. His men entered the towns but did them no wrong, only taking cattle from them’.

¹⁶ Information obtained for me from Dr M. D. W. Jeffreys of Johannesburg by Dr M. Fortes.

¹⁷ The short theorists can readily identify the Horn of the West with, say, Bissagos bay, the ‘island within an island’ with Orango, and the Horn of the South with Sherbro sound (note that horn—κέρας—means bay, not cape, in these contexts). The long theorists can give free play to their imaginations, for there must be many places between Gambia and the Gabun which would suit.

¹⁸ So Hennig, *op. cit.* i, 49 ff.: Gsell, *op. cit.* i, 509; M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers*, pp. 87 ff.

¹⁹ The phrase is Καρχηδόνιοι εἰσι οἱ λέγοντες, ‘the Carthaginians who tell us’; but see G. Rawlinson's translation (Everyman ed., i, 303) and E. H. Warmington, *Greek Geography*, p. 89, for alternative renderings.

THE PHOENICIANS ON THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA

Does this indicate an advanced village, if not urban, civilization near Senegal at this time ?

Jumping now to the middle of the fourth century B.C. we find a most interesting and illuminating story, which opens up all sorts of archaeological possibilities, in a *Periplus* of c. 350 B.C. by an author who is known as pseudo-Scylax, his work having been foisted on to the real Scylax, an explorer of the late 6th century B.C. (20). He describes (para. 112) the west African coast down to Cerne and his account is largely similar to Hanno's and perhaps based on it, though this would be surprising in a work as early as the 4th century B.C., in view of the well-known Carthaginian dislike of letting others, especially Greeks, into the secrets of the western ocean. He goes on to say that the merchants at Cerne are Phoenicians. They transport their goods to the mainland in small boats and traffic with the Ethiopians (21) who dwell there, selling by exchange unguents, Egyptian stone (probably glass, one of the ancient names for which was *λίθος χύτη*), Attic juglets (*χόες*) and another unidentified ware for skins of domestic and wild animals, tusks of elephants, and wine. 'These Ethiopians', he adds, 'use variegated skins for clothing and ivory cups for drinking; their women wear ivory bracelets; they adorn their horses also with ivory. They are the tallest men we know, more than 4 cubits high, some are even 5 cubits (7½ feet!). They are bearded and long-haired and the most good-looking of men. The tallest of them is their king. They are horsemen, javelin-throwers and archers; they use javelin points hardened in fire'. He also adds (as already recorded) that they have a big city up to which the Phoenician merchants sail, and concludes 'some say these Ethiopians dwell all round uninterruptedly from here to Egypt and that the sea is continuous, Libya being a peninsula'.

As a contemporary account this is second only to Hanno's own in importance and raises all sorts of interesting problems. It will suffice here to note :

1. The varieties of objects bartered; that Attic vases and glass vessels may yet, if this account is to be credited, be found in west Africa, and that, while so surprising a commodity as wine is listed as being sold by the natives (22), gold and tin are not mentioned; yet Herodotus (IV, 196), who tells a very similar story, but about silent trading and without mentioning Cerne or defining the objects the Carthaginians sold, specifies gold as one of the things they bought.
2. That the Phoenicians are said to sail up to a big inland city—and remember that, of the alternative sites for Cerne, Herne and Arguin are not opposite rivers but that at Senegal is.
3. The statement that Africa can be sailed round. Is this an echo of Herodotus or is it an independent tradition ?

There are three more accounts of sea traffic and exploration which deserve mention, though they all refer to a period at or after the fall of Carthage. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* v, 9-10) gives a garbled story of an expedition down the African coast by the historian Polybius. The story obviously borrows wholesale from Hanno's *Periplus*, the text of which Polybius may well have seen at Carthage after Scipio's sack in 146 B.C. Another is that of the explorer Eudoxus who, after voyaging to India, set out to try to

²⁰ The text can be consulted in C. Müller, *Geog. Graec. Minores*, I, 15 ff.

²¹ In ancient authors Ethiopians are black men, whether in East or West Africa.

²² It is proper to add that this statement about export of wine has been received with the greatest scepticism by many modern commentators.

circumnavigate Africa, but was never heard of again (23). Yet a third is Caelius Antipater's account of meeting a man who had sailed from Spain to Ethiopia (probably only west Africa) for trade (24).

There are only two hints of any land travel across the Sahara in pre-Roman times. The first is from Herodotus (II, 32) who tells a story of five young Nasamones from the borders of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, who travelled first south and then west, where they were led by dwarfs through extensive marshes to a town inhabited by negro dwarfs and watered by a large crocodile-infested river flowing from west to east. Many modern authorities believe this story and think the river was the Niger and the native town Timbuctu, or its ancient equivalent. Others (25) disbelieve it on the grounds that such a trip was impossible in antiquity. The second is a story in Athenaeus, a gossip writer of c. A.D. 200, about a Carthaginian called Mago who three times crossed the desert on a diet of dry barley without water. Does this show (whatever we may think of the details!) that Carthaginians really crossed the Sahara on business? Perhaps: but their overland trade with the south, which undoubtedly existed, would mostly take place through intermediaries such as the Garamantes, who lived in the Murzuk area (26).

What, then, are our conclusions from the ancient evidence?

1. It is certain that the farthest *colony* was Cerne, and that on our identification of its site will depend our view on how far any permanent Phoenician connexion extended; for it seems equally certain that any direct Phoenician intercourse with the west African coast was by sea and not trans-Saharan. There is no evidence of any regular through travel by land.

2. We have not been able to decide finally where Cerne was, but on weighing the evidence it seems most likely to have been at or near the Senegal mouth.

3. We have equally not been able to decide how far south of Cerne Hanno penetrated, but it seems most probable that it was the Camerun mountain which he saw and that those who would stop him at Sierra Leone or thereabouts are somewhat pusillanimous. This question is not so important if we accept the view that Africa was circumnavigated by the Phoenician expedition sent out by Necho.

4. We have noted that the Carthaginians retained mastery of the African traffic and kept all rivals at bay, even their allies the Etruscans, at least from the late 7th century B.C. to the late 3rd, if not to the destruction of Carthage. Attic vases and Egyptian glass were brought to Cerne by Phoenicians and not by Greeks.

But however much ancient authors tell us about the geographical extent of the Phoenician penetration, they say little to show how permanent the Phoenician influence was or how big were the colonies, especially Cerne, and the trade which the Phoenicians engaged in. For an assessment of that we must turn to archaeology and there all is in the future. Excavation, and even recognition, of Phoenician sites on the Atlantic coast has, so far as I know, never been attempted (27). Many daring and fanciful theories about Phoenician and other contemporary influence in west and central Africa have been propounded. Perhaps the most fanciful are those of Frobenius, who in his *Voice of Africa* (28) and other works produces his theory of a big kingdom on Gambian and

²³ Strabo, II, 3, 4: the story is that his attempt was instigated by his finding a prow of a ship of Gades on the East African coast!

²⁴ See Cary and Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 98, based on Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* II, 169.

²⁵ Hennig, *op. cit.* I, 100 ff. ²⁶ *cp.* Gsell, *op. cit.* IV, 138 f.

²⁷ Apart from de la Martinière's work at Lixus sixty years ago, note 4 above.

²⁸ W. Frobenius, *Voice of Africa* (engl. ed. 1913), I, 319 ff.

Nigerian territory founded by Etruscans (not, be it noted, Phoenicians) and equatable with the lost Atlantis. This was, he says, founded by Etruscans in the 13th century B.C. or thereabouts, when they were on any reasonable estimate only doubtfully existent as the Tursha, one of the Peoples of the Sea who invaded XIX dynasty Egypt. The Phoenicians came along later, much later, to reap where the Etruscans had sown!

A more conservative view is expressed by Gautier (29). He is one who places Cerne at or near the Senegal mouth and points out that in the hinterland thereabouts there is a long famous gold-bearing area. He cites from Yacout, an Arab geographer (1178-1229), a story about silent trading for gold which is exactly parallel to, but almost certainly not borrowed from, Herodotus's. Yacout, however, pins it down definitely to a district on the upper Senegal called Bambuk (30).

Gautier, Frobenius and others refer with gay optimism to the Ife and Benin bronzes with their *cire-perdue* casting; to the terracotta sculptures of Ife; to ancient glass and/or glaze manufacture (not only of beads) in inner Nigeria; and to several culture traits which seem to connect the Nigerian area with the Mediterranean. They consider that these provide a strong case for Phoenician, or at least Mediterranean influence in early times (31). But we really require more than guesses of this sort, however plausible.

We must first find the Phoenician sites. We know the type of site to look for pretty accurately—indeed Hanno himself describes several—an island site with good anchorage near the mainland; and by near we must on Mediterranean analogies infer very near, almost a peninsula; or alternatively a short peninsular headland. Good Mediterranean examples of island sites are Tyre itself and Motya in Sicily; of a peninsular site, Carthage.

Having found the likely site, what type of construction and of antiquities should be looked for? Of Phoenician buildings we know a little, of Carthaginian practically nothing at all, for Scipio did his destruction particularly well. In general, especially in smallish outlying colonies, they were probably not very imposing or durable. Phoenician temples were normally small rectangular cellae with open courtyards around; Phoenician houses would, of course, vary very much according to the locality and the status of the inhabitants. If local supplies permitted, the main building walls would be of stone, either properly faced and squared blocks, or rougher work (32).

There is one kind of construction, however, which is a sure indication of Phoenician presence and that is the Cothon or inner basin type of artificial harbour (33). The two lagoons at Carthage, which are now almost universally admitted to be the remains of the circular and rectangular ports so well known from the description of Scipio's siege-works in Appian and elsewhere, are an elaborate example of this kind of thing. Another, very much smaller, one is the cothon found by Whitaker at Motya (34), a rectangular basin, 51 m. by 37 m.

²⁹ op. cit. in note 11 above.

³⁰ The very name may be ancient, as Gautier notes (op. cit., p. 49); it is very like Pliny's name *Bambotus*, used by him for a big river hereabouts, probably the Senegal, in describing Polybius's expedition (p. 147 above).

³¹ One example of this theorizing, and to my mind a particularly wild one, is Frobenius's comparison of Phoenico-Sardinian masks with an Ife terracotta head (op. cit., pl. v, facing p. 312). The parallel is in itself unconvincing. He would have done better to show some Etruscan face urns!

³² Good examples are illustrated in J. I. S. Whitaker, *Motya* (London, 1921), figs. 7-10.

³³ Cp. Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, 427: *hic portus alii effodiunt*.

³⁴ Whitaker, op. cit. pp. 186-7.

But the most prolific Phoenician remains, at least on west Phoenician sites, have so far been the tombs and the sanctuaries. Fortunately the Phoenicians took trouble with their tombs, which were either vertical rock-cut wells with chambers opening off them laterally or, especially in later days, shallower chamber-tombs cut in the rock or built of masonry below ground level. The burial rite was normally inhumation and the richer tombs usually contain quite a lot of grave-furniture—pottery, bronze objects, jewellery and so forth; coins occur after Carthaginian coinage was initiated in the latest 5th century B.C. Much of the tomb-furniture consisted of imported objects of Greek or Egyptian manufacture or affinity.

The sanctuaries are also very typical. They consist of compact urnfields, the urns usually accompanied by stelae, and containing burials of children and small animals, sacrifices to Baal or Tanit. An important example (35) has recently been excavated at Carthage near the ports, containing burials covering the whole life of Punic Carthage from the 8th to the 2nd century B.C. Others have been found at Motya, Nora in Sardinia, and at several places on the north African coast.

It is indeed remarkable how uniform the Phoenician remains are wherever they turn up on the north African coast after the 6th century B.C., a fact clearly due to the hegemony of Carthage and to her all-pervading influence. We may assume that any remains of settlements on the west African coast will conform to the same pattern, so that whoever goes to look need not be searching in the dark; and of course air-photography can be called in to help in the preliminary identification of the most likely sites.

At the other end of the ancient world there has recently been revealed a quite unsuspected Roman trading-station near Pondicherry. What can be done in India can be done also in Africa.

³⁵ cp. L. Poinssot and R. Lantier in *Rev. de l'Histoire des Religions*, LXXXVII, 32 ff; F. W. Kelsey, *Prelim. report on the excavations at Carthage* (New York, 1926), 33 ff; D. B. Harden, *Iraq*, IV, 59 ff.; G. Picard, *Compte-rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1945, 443 ff.

Shebib's Wall in Transjordan

by SIR ALEC KIRKBRIDE

TRAVELLING by air over the Ma'an district, I noticed a stone wall running, for no obvious purpose, across country, from a point about twelve kilometres west of the town of Ma'an and terminating near the edge of the scarp, known as Nagb Eshtar. The attached sketch map shows the alignment of this wall.

Enquiries from the local inhabitants showed that the wall was known as 'Khat Shebib' or, in English, Shebib's wall.

Shebib, its builder, was said to be the Amir Shebib el Tubba'i el Himyari, a prince of the Himyarite dynasty who conquered and ruled Transjordan before Islam, until he was killed by the Amir Hassan ibn Draid of the Beni Hilal at a battle which took place somewhere between Amman and Zerka.

To this Shebib also is ascribed a castle of medieval type, 'Qasr Shebib', at Zerka itself. The building consists of a square keep of three storeys with an outer bailey and, judging by its architecture, would seem to date from the 10th or 11th century of our era.

There is another 'Khat Shebib' in Transjordan but this time the name applies to a locality and there is no wall. The locality in question is a stretch of land on the western edge of the plateau running from Wadi Sir village, past Naour village, to the farm built on the site of ancient Heshbon. The local farmers aver that the land is so called because it once belonged to the Amir Shebib who lived at Zerka.

It was evident that the dating of these local traditions was confused.

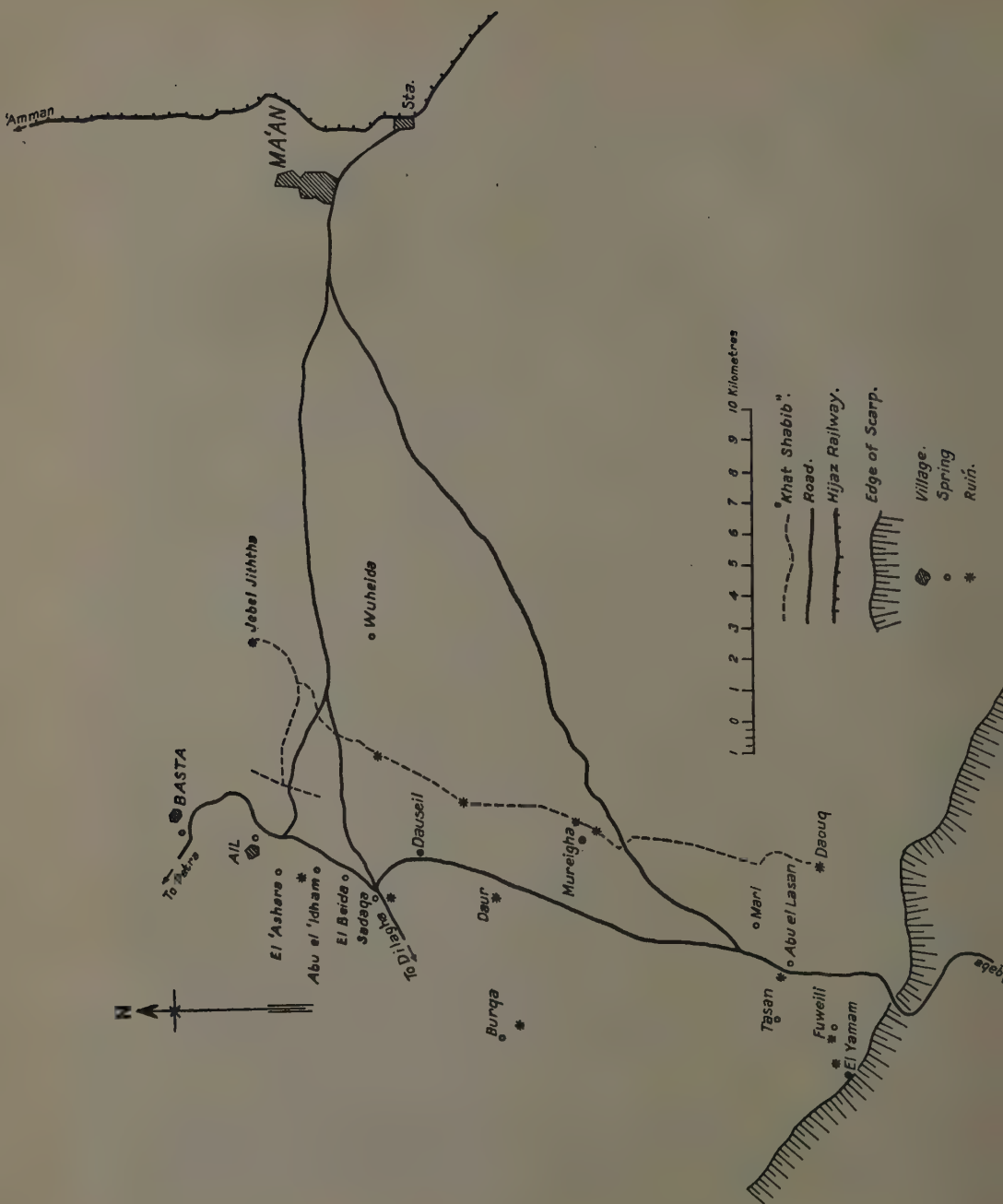
The Himyarite dynasty ended in the 1st century while the Beni Hilal were still known, although they had lost their importance, during the life of the Prophet. Qasr Shebib at Zerka, on the other hand, was undoubtedly medieval.

I mentioned this problem to Mohamed Pasha Shureiki, then Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Transjordan Government, and he was good enough to collect the following information about the Amir Shebib from a number of authorities including El Wahidi, Yacut and el Mutanabi.

Shortly after the middle of the 10th century of our era the Amir Shebib el 'Oqailli el Tubba'i governed Amman, the Belqa and its dependencies, which included Ma'an, on behalf of Kafur, the negro eunuch Ikhshidid ruler of Egypt.* He became so powerful that he aspired to replace his master and opened his revolt by advancing against Damascus, which was also part of the Ikhshidid territories, with ten thousand horsemen. His advance was contested by the Governor and people of Damascus and in the action which ensued he fell dead from the saddle and his army broke up and fled. No wounds were found on his body and he was believed to have died from poison or in an epileptic fit.

Abu Tayeeb el Mutanabi, who had left the Hamdanid court of Seif el Dowleh at Aleppo to join the court of Kafur, one of the many hurried changes of allegiance which

*The Ikhshidid dynasty ruled from A.D. 905-68 and Kafur from A.D. 966-8. *Précis de l'histoire d'Egypte* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire) vol. II, 1932, pp. 320-4. O.G.S.C.



SHEBIB'S WALL IN TRANSJORDAN

marked his career, made reference to Shebib's death in a poem which he dedicated shortly after that event to the Ikhshidid ruler. This poem which purports to be in praise of Kafur is, by implication, more favourable to Shebib.

The following is a free translation :—

' Even though he were the moon itself, thine enemy would
be blamed by every tongue,
His talk is nought but raving for thy high rank is one
of God's secrets.
Could the enemies ask for further proof of this fact
after what I have seen ?
I have seen treachery or circumstances overcome all
who would betray thee.
In spite of their friendship, Shebib's sword fell away
from his hand,
As if the sword were told, " Thou art from Yemen and thy
friend is of Qais ".
Secret dangers overwhelmed him, unseen even by those
who stood around,
An attack by arms would have broken against his
courage and his skill '.

The name Tubba'i appears to have indicated a claim by Shebib to descent from the Tabataba'is of the Yemen and probably accounts for the local tradition that he was a Himyarite prince.

Having collected all available information about Shebib, the next thing was to visit the wall itself. It proved to be a single layer of rough blocks of stone laid upon the surface of the ground, over a width of about two metres, with larger blocks standing upright in the centre of the strip at more or less regular distances of about five metres. Circular arrangements of similar rough stone appear to have existed at irregular intervals and, where the line crossed important tracks, there appeared to have been breaks or gates so as not to impede traffic.

While the line crossed a number of major valleys at right angles, its general alignment followed, as far as the topography of the country permitted, the crests of hills and ridges. In fact, it linked some of the most outstanding hilltops on which there were ancient ruins dating back to at least the second century A.D. judging by the sherds of Roman pottery found in their vicinity.

It is not, however, suggested that this fact is any more evidence of the age of the line than is the existence of innumerable palaeolithic flint implements lying on the surface of area through which it runs.

On the first visit, the line was found to extend further to the north than was first believed, and evidence was also seen, but not investigated, of a secondary wall. In view of the limitations of time it was decided to confine the inspection to that part of the line which lay to the south and to trace its extent to the north on another occasion. The line could, however, be seen reaching as far north as Jebel Jitha.

The line was followed on horseback from just north of the Ma'an-Wadi Musa road, to the Roman settlements at Moreigha, across the Ma'an-Aqaba road and to where it ended, with every appearance of an uncompleted project, two hundred metres short of the Roman settlement of Daouq, at a height of about 1600 metres above sea-level and some three kilometres east of the well of Abu Lisal on the Ma'an-Aqaba road.

ANTIQUITY

Later in the year I had an opportunity of flying over the northern end of the wall and I was able to complete the map. Our earlier journey had followed the greater part of the alignment.

The nature of its structure indicates that it could not be defensive ; its general alignment, the presence in its centre of the upright stones and the fact that, at one point, it runs over a sheer cliff of some fifteen metres in height are conclusive evidence that it was a boundary line and not a causeway.

The line of upright stones forms indeed, a feature which is visible clearly for some distance, especially where the line runs along crests and hill tops.

It is noticeable that practically all the permanent water points lie to the west of the line, and so also does the cultivated land in the vicinity which is capable of raising rain-irrigated crops under existing climatic conditions. It is remarkable, in this connexion, that the 100 millimetre isohyetal of the average rainfall during the years 1937 to 1945 appears on the map in approximately the same position as that occupied by the wall.

There seems, therefore, some reason for accepting as true the local tradition that it formed the boundary between the land owned by cultivators and that at the disposal of their nomadic neighbours. While there is no evidence to confirm the date of its construction in the tenth century A.D., there is none against that theory and the tradition crediting Shebib el Tubba'i with its construction is not, therefore, entirely valueless.

The most impressive thing about the line is the physical effort which must have gone to build so substantial a boundary mark. One is left with the feeling that the differences over ownership needed to goad the authorities to undertake such a work must have been serious indeed.

The Rise of Wessex: a review*

by F. T. WAINWRIGHT

THIS book should be reviewed by a committee. Like Mr Reed's earlier excursion into Dark Age History, *The Battle for Britain in the Fifth Century*, it will arouse passions which, ranging from indignation through amused tolerance to befuddled admiration, would require a series of minority reports for their adequate expression. The scholar is in no danger (unless he had a high blood-pressure), and it would be simple enough to advise the non-specialist reader to read not Mr Reed but Mr Reed's despised authorities. Such advice, however, would not constitute a review of a book which, in one sense or another, will fascinate most readers.

Mr Reed apparently seeks to tell the story of the rise of Wessex in new and full detail, and to show that modern authorities are wrong-headed guides. The new details and the full explanations are there, riotously jostling each other for space, but of course they will not be accepted by serious scholars. Probably Mr Reed would be surprised if they were. His second aim does not achieve even this dubious success; Authority may laugh or fume, according to its mood, but it has undoubtedly survived unscathed what was perhaps designed as an ordeal.

Mr Reed's attitude towards Authority is curious. Perhaps at some time he has been severely castigated by Authority! He is very very bitter, though his gibes are usually good-humoured.

Unfortunately he is not always fair, as for example when, wishing to pose as the champion of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, he gives point to his not unreasonable arguments by attributing to Authority a distrust of the *Chronicle* which is exaggerated beyond the bounds of absurdity. It was not necessary. Likewise he sets himself up, again unnecessarily, as the champion of Aldhelm and, looking around for a dragon, he writes (p. 252) of Aldhelm's 'consistent treatment by historians as no more than a minor local worthy'. It is ridiculous to try to pin such an opinion on Authority, but it serves Mr Reed's purpose. This is sheer wrong-headedness, though in a historian it would be called dishonesty. Such is Mr Reed's method when he decides to support what Authority already supports. It is a pity he did not allow himself more scope for the elaboration of this method.

Mr Reed is not sufficiently careful in his quotations from Authority. On p. 61 he takes a long passage from *Anglo-Saxon England* but he makes silent additions of his own. He adds dates after the name of Edward the Elder—no doubt to help the general reader but, despite the brackets, the general reader will not realize that the added dates belong to Mr Reed. In this case, as in others, Authority might legitimately object to being saddled with Mr Reed's errors, for it happens that the added dates are wrong. On p. 98 Mr Reed had another shot at Edward's regnal dates—and gets them wrong again. We can forgive his errors more easily than his inconsistency, his carelessness and his irritatingly casual treatment of Authority. He is not happy with dates, and on pp. 170 and 220 he gives two different dates for the death of Ecgrif of Northumbria.

When there is so much to dispute it would show a lack of proportion to collect misprints. In passing I have noticed Hodgkins for Hodgkin (p. 10), monarchic for

* *The Rise of Wessex*, by T. Dayrell Reed, Methuen, 1947; 354 pp., 6 maps. Price 18s.

monastic (p. 185), Brechan for Brechin (p. 209) and caastal for coastal (p. 309). But these are minor points. A discussion of major points would swell this review into a volume half as long as Mr Reed's. The chief criticism of scholars will be that when Mr Reed departs from Authority his conclusions usually fall somewhere between the rash and the ridiculous. For example, he writes of 'a rural exodus' in the 4th century when 'agriculturists probably became artisans and dock labourers' (p. 69), of Benedict Biscop who, as 'liaison officer' of 'the Young Roman Party' in Britain, impregnated Ecgrith's mind 'with theological venom' (p. 219), of the Bretwaldaship (p. 153), of Æthelberht of Kent and his nefarious (but imaginary) plans (pp. 135 ff), of Druidical influence on the Celtic church (pp. 187-8), and of social and constitutional developments in Wessex. We cannot follow him into his lands of make-belief. On p. 21 he says we are 'driven to the conclusion' that a Pictish military aristocracy once ruled in Hampshire. The wildest of wild horses would not drive me to that conclusion, though a scrap of positive evidence might have turned it into an interesting speculation. Mr Reed 'can, under the circumstances, see no alternative' to a belief in this Pictish domination, and he thinks it relevant to remark that 'Archaeology does not contradict this theory'. Nor is it contradicted, he might have added with equal irrelevance, by Theology, Marxism or the Treaty of Versailles. But does archaeology *support* this theory? Of course not. It is not safe to believe that Plato gave a course of Sunday lectures in Salisbury market place simply because 'archaeology does not contradict this theory'.

Not all Mr Reed's arguments are on this level. Useful suggestions for research and, more often, possible if improperly tested reconstructions are occasionally put forward for consideration. A vigorous mind, frolicking with abandon over a country thinly peopled with facts has raised much blinding dust, but now and again there is the glint of gold. Only a glint, but worth pursuing. On pp. 12-13 Mr Reed rightly draws attention to liberties which some scholars have taken with the annal for 514 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. There is a glint when, after mis-representing Plummer, Mr Reed undertakes to give us 'the entry as it stands to-day'. This is not a difficult task, for the facsimile edition of the Parker ms. is available. Mr Reed failed to consult it, and his carefully corrected entry is incorrect. It would not irritate us so much if he had not so sentimentiously deplored the lack of accuracy in others.

Mr Reed's style of writing is, like his history, slap-dash, careless and colloquial when compared with the austere but expressive prose of modern scholars. But this has its advantages. By adopting an intimate personal approach, by avoiding phrases of compressed accuracy, by using devices like repetition, and by so allowing a theme to develop slowly but without interruption. Mr Reed manages to carry the casual reader to the heart of the problem. He takes us into his confidence, engagingly discusses difficulties, and step by step we approach the problem 'as I see it' (a frequent and naive expression). From this leisurely, colloquial and personal approach the casual reader will probably get a clearer idea of the underlying problems of Dark Age English History than he will get from the scientific and polished accounts of more competent and more cautious scholars who bury their difficulties and their technique in learned journals, putting out for general consumption only an authoritative summary. Mr Reed's book will probably arouse a wider interest in these studies, and that is surely an advantage. But to understand a problem is not to solve it, and, skilled expounder of problems though Mr Reed is, only the foolish will be tempted to accept all his solutions.

It may be a doubtful gain to fight again the old battles on sites selected by Mr Reed and under his own erratic leadership ('Had I been in command . . .'; 'Had I been Cuthwulf . . .'; e.g. pp. 94, 115, 117). But such an approach, together with its

THE RISE OF WESSEX

author's witty gibes, his reference to Adolf Hitler and his faith in the British Empire, has produced a readable book. Mr Reed succeeds in making History live, but there was no need to make it reel in a drunken frenzy.

What is wrong with this book? Simply that Mr Reed and scholars are separated by a fence so high and a gulf so deep that effective communication is impossible. He and they possess fundamentally different conceptions of history, of historical evidence, and of historical method. Mr Reed uses such expressions as 'self-evident', 'strong probability', 'justifiable conclusion', 'beyond all reasonable doubt', 'almost a certainty', 'complete clarity', 'an alluring probability', etc. They do not mean to scholars what they mean to Mr Reed. What to Mr Reed are 'natural conclusions' appear to serious historians as wild guesses and fantastic explanations. On one occasion (p. 39) he dismisses a certain theory because 'I can find no factual basis for it', a test which he does not apply to his own theories. He summarizes his method more accurately when he says: 'For my part I cannot see that there are two sides to the question' (p. 55)! At least this is honest. For Mr Reed always 'there is a clue which clears up the whole matter' (p. 174).

Perhaps it is not fair to criticize by normal standards an author who so deliberately turns his back on normal standards. Mr Reed is ingenious, agile, industrious and thoughtful, and he possesses a scholarly curiosity. Few books by non-specialist writers are based upon such patient study; Mr Reed takes the trouble to go to the sources—not perhaps to the manuscripts, the potsherds and the early spellings, but at least to the printed sources, the archaeological reports and the lighter works on place-names. It is his handling of the evidence that is, by normal standards, so ludicrous. He seems to believe that evidence exists not to reveal the truth but to provide support for some theory. He cannot bear to see a gap unfilled or a problem unexplained. His mission is to fill all the gaps, and that is not very difficult if you do not mind what you use for filling. He is a man driven by his own theories, and we should assume that he is blind to the resulting distortion.

This is where we need a committee. Impartiality is impossible in a single individual, and I cannot go beyond the cautious admission that Mr Reed's unusual approach may possibly be the right one. If in the future historians agree to adopt his methods and to reach conclusions by instinct not by reason, then Mr Reed will become a prophet of the 'new history'. Until that day dawns he is a voice crying in the wilderness. But perhaps, like other opponents of traditional methods, he has already lost faith in the cause of anarchy which he has served so well. Perhaps this is why he intends to devote himself to flowering shrubs. I must say, however, that I enjoyed this book, despite the burden of having to review it.

Notes and News

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS, 1949

Readers of *ANTIQUITY* will recall that this Congress, which was first organized in 1931 and met in 1932 in London and in 1936 at Oslo, is the accepted organ of international co-operation in prehistoric and early historic archaeology and related studies. At its meeting at Oslo in 1936, its Council resolved to accept the invitation proffered by Hungary for it to meet next in 1940 at Budapest, and the Hungarian professor Tompa was elected President. Everything was of course brought to a standstill by the war; the archives of the Congress and the Report of the Oslo meeting, still in the press, were destroyed in the German occupation of Norway; and in the bombing of Budapest the President-elect was killed. The Secretary-General (Dr J. Bøe, director of the Museum of Bergen), who had organized the Oslo meeting, however, was by the Congress's constitution still in office, and after the war, in agreement with his Hungarian colleague, Professor J. Banner, who had succeeded Tompa at Budapest, he began at once to work cautiously towards reviving the Congress by means of a re-assembly of its Council. During the last nine months, his resumption of contact with most of the survivors of the pre-war Council enabled him to invite them to meet in June at Copenhagen, and on 24 June the meeting took place.

There were present nineteen members and national secretaries, from Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Mexico, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland; Great Britain was represented by Professors Childe and Hawkes. After Dr Bøe, in the Chair, had explained the course of events which had led from the situation created by the war to the holding of the meeting, the Council proceeded to revise and fill up its complement of members and secretaries. In so doing, in accordance with the provision of the constitution, the Council, while taking account of the advice of such representatives of the countries concerned as were present, did not confine its survey to names submitted by them. The membership has now been brought up to nearly 100, representing nearly 40 countries. The list for the English-speaking countries is now as follows (* indicates national secretary): Great Britain, Professors Childe, Hawkes, *Piggott, *Dr Grahame Clark; Eire, Prof. O Riordain, *Dr Raftery; South Africa, Dr Goodwin, Prof. Van Riet Lowe; Kenya, Dr Leakey; Malaya, Mr Tweedie, *Mr Collings; U.S.A., Drs Hencken, Guthe, *Braidwood, *Griffin. Sir John Myres (ex-Secretary-General), Sir Charles Peers (ex-President) and Dr R. A. S. Macalister, retiring from the Council, were placed on the Committee of Honour. A few persons also were appointed to the Council not as national representatives but as individuals, among them Dr Gerhard Bersu, from 1931 to 1936 a member for Germany and now professor in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. The question of Germany's status on the Council was held over for further consideration later.

The Council then considered the place and time to be chosen for the next meeting of the full Congress. It was explained from the Chair that the Hungarian representatives earnestly wished the pre-war invitation to Budapest to be maintained, and that their Minister of Education, in an official letter to Dr Bøe, had expressed his Government's eager desire that the Congress should meet at Budapest in 1949. Professor Banner, speaking for his country in reply to questions, assured the Council of the sincerity and cordial intent of the invitation: visas had been guaranteed, accommodation

and an effective showing of the archaeological wealth of Hungary could be fully counted on; and he was confident of a thoroughly successful Congress, if the Council would decide for acceptance. The motion for acceptance was accordingly put to the vote and carried unanimously. Professor Banner was elected President, with Dr Parducz of the Hungarian National Museum as his new Secretary-General, and thereupon took the Chair. The result of the Council's ensuing decisions is as follows:—

The Congress, unless unavoidably prevented, will meet at Budapest on 3 September 1949. Communications will be freely invited on all topics within its scope. At the same time, attention will be particularly invited to the palaeolithic, neolithic, and chalcolithic archaeology of Hungary, to the Cimmerian question (Later Bronze and earliest Iron Age), the Scythian and Sarmatian question (Early and later Iron Age), and the problems of the Migration period in Hungary and the neighbouring regions. Any further suggestions of subjects for particular attention will be gladly received by the Hungarian authorities, and should be forwarded if possible by 1 October (preferably through representatives on the Council: for Great Britain, through Prof. Hawkes, Keble College, Oxford). After the sessions in Budapest itself, there will be two excursions, to the Alföld country and to Transylvania, including visits to excavations at the famous Bronze Age site of Tószeg, in Migration-period cemeteries, etc. The Hungarian committee hope for a large attendance, of both sexes, and will set out to do everything possible to ensure the success of the venture.

Official circulars announcing the arrangements may be expected in due course, and attention will be drawn to them in this journal. A somewhat fuller account of the Council's proceedings at Copenhagen will appear in French in the next number of *L'Anthropologie* (Paris). Meanwhile, this earliest opportunity is taken of making the project of the Congress known to all likely to be interested. C. F. C. HAWKES.

DISCOVERY OF BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS

A very important discovery of rolls of manuscripts has been made near the Dead Sea. They were found by Bedouins in a cave, and their preservation (said to be excellent) is due to the fact that they were contained in vases sealed with pitch. We are indebted to Professor Albright for permission to reprint the report published in the April number of *B.A.S.O.R.* (which actually appeared in June), slightly modified and brought up-to-date by the addition of information in Professor Albright's letter. It appears that there is only one copy of the book of Isaiah, the statement that another one was included being due to a misunderstanding; and the total number of rolls is ten, there being also at least two documents in Aramaic. The documents show that the reconstruction of the literary history of this period by Edward Meyer was better than that of others, who come off rather badly.

The following succinct statement covers the basic facts as known to the editor [of the Bulletin]. Since this is unquestionably the greatest manuscript find of modern times, we await further details with the keenest interest, hoping devoutly that nothing happens to the rolls which are now in the possession of the Hebrew University.

According to the news from Sukeik the rolls were discovered by Bedouin in a cave near the northern shore of the Dead Sea during the past winter. Apparently they had been concealed in pottery jars, wrapped in linen and covered with pitch for protection against the elements. Certainly some of the rolls are in a remarkable state of preservation, though at least one is very much the worse for wear. Four of the rolls, one of parchment and three of leather, were purchased by the Metropolitan of the Syrian Orthodox Monastery of St. Mark in Jerusalem; they are said to be safely out of the country, after three

had been fully reproduced by Dr John C. Trever, who is an expert photographer. The Hebrew University bought a number of other rolls; in all there would seem to be at least eight and possibly more. The most important of the rolls owned by the Syrian Monastery is a complete scroll of the Book of Isaiah. Dr Trever sent the editor two photographs to illustrate the script of this parchment, which is easily a thousand years older than that of the oldest Hebrew biblical roll hitherto known. The script is materially older than that of the Nash Papyrus of the Decalogue, which is itself earlier than the most archaic square character of the Herodian Age yet known from contemporary graffiti. With respect to the form of individual letters the script is similar to that of the Edfu papyri and ostraca from the third century B.C. Sukenik is quoted as saying that some of the rolls are over two thousand years old and that none is later than the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. The Isaiah scroll thus goes back to about the second century B.C.; in other words, it may be early Maccabaeal, while the Nash Papyrus is late Maccabaeal, from the first century B.C. (additional evidence for this date has accumulated since the editor's article of 1937).

Among the rolls being studied by Burrows, Trever and Brownlee is part of a commentary on Habakkuk and a 'curious manual of ritual and discipline' from a still unidentified Jewish sect. The Sukenik material is reported to include a book of hymns resembling the Psalter, a historical narrative of an unidentified war, and the original Hebrew of several apocryphal books hitherto known only from Greek translations. It is easy to surmise that the new discovery will revolutionize inter-testamental studies, and that it will soon antiquate all present handbooks on the background of the New Testament and on the textual criticism and interpretation of the Old Testament. We congratulate the fortunate scholars who are preparing these rolls for publication, and hope that nothing will happen to prevent complete salvage of an almost incredible discovery!

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM THE ETRUSCOLOGIST, GEORGE DENNIS

Recently I had the good fortune to discover and acquire a letter from the hand of that great scholar and field-archaeologist, George Dennis (1). The present year witnesses the centenary of the first publication of his *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, in 1848. His acute judgment, served by a discerning eye and a draughtsman's ready touch, ensured a permanent value for his work; since beneath the polished prose there lay a deep vein of genius. In several instances, Dennis's descriptions of sites, compiled from his own field-work, still remain the best available; his account of the walls and ruined city of *Cosa* (the seaport for *Vulci*) is a good example of this. For him, field-work was the natural continuance by other means of work in the study. He was at pains to verify for himself the details of the most inaccessible and neglected sites, making drawings on the spot with the aid of the *camera lucida* to illustrate his volumes.

This letter is of particular interest, since it refers in the clearest terms to a series of un-published drawings made by Dennis, which would be of the greatest value if recoverable. It was addressed to Mr George H. Pope, and headed 'Palermo, 28 January, 1879'. In answer to a question about the origins of urban civilization in Italy, Dennis replied:—

¹ For obituary notice, see *Athenaeum*, 19, November 1898. Dennis received but a small part of the practical recognition that was his due.

' . . . I am not aware that there is any work in English, French or Italian which treats specially of the so-called Pelasgic cities (2) of Central Italy. . . . It is a subject in which I take, or rather have taken, great interest. *Years ago I made the tour of all the known cities of that antiquity in Italy and made careful drawings of their walls with the camera lucida, with the intention of writing about them, but I have never been able to put my intentions into execution.* Anyone who would master the subject should make himself acquainted with the similar remains in Greece and Asia Minor and compare them with those of Italy and Sicily. . . . The mountains in the South of Italy should also be explored—that district is almost a *terra incognita*. . . . I warn you against Bunbury's theory of Constructive Necessity. It will not stand examination'.

This letter was written a year after the second (revised) edition of *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, and it would appear that the series of drawings mentioned above have never been printed.

Inspired by the love of his subject, Dennis joined pertinacious enquiry to an immense capacity for observing detail. His great work was planned and written as a popular Hand-book for the traveller, yet it was endowed with a full apparatus of notes and authorities and it more than holds its own among the best achievements of the professional archaeologists of his day. It remains, not as a monument to the appetite for knowledge of the Victorian reader, but as one of the finest popularizations of Archaeology ever yet attempted.

It would be a small but appropriate recognition of this centenary if these drawings could be brought to light. I should be very grateful if anyone who may be able to help me to trace them would communicate with me, at the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

J. S. P. BRADFORD.

MEDIEVAL LATIN DICTIONARY COMMITTEE

The *Medieval Latin Word-List* issued by the Oxford University Press in 1934, which has for several years been out of print, has lately been re-issued and is obtainable at 15s a copy.

The *Word-List*, whose value has received general recognition, marked the first stage in the work of the Committee appointed by the British Academy to undertake the preparation of a Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British and Irish sources. It was made possible by the cooperation of voluntary readers in the British Isles and America. In furtherance of its work the Committee is now engaged in the preparation of a Supplement to the *Word-List*. While considerable new material has already been accumulated, there is urgent need of new readers of texts, particularly in branches of study inadequately treated hitherto. These include medicine, mathematics and the natural sciences in general, philosophy, theology, canon and civil law, manorial records, geography, industrial and domestic accounts. Assistance will be specially welcomed from experts in these and other subjects who can themselves read texts, or undertake to comment on collections of slips dealing with their subjects and advise how gaps in the ground covered

² The term 'Pelasgic' was used by some archaeologists 50 years ago to denote the 'cyclopean' and polygonal masonry of irregular massive type, of several forms and variously derived, distinctive of these primitive cities in the middle centuries of the first millennium B.C. There is much about them that is still very obscure, but the latest treatment of the subject, admirably documented, will be found in Marion Blake's *Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the prehistoric period to Augustus* (Carnegie Institution, Washington), 1947.

can best be filled ; but this appeal is directed not only to them. Valuable help can be given, in the reading of specialized texts as well as general literature, by anyone with a working knowledge of Classical Latin and a general interest in linguistic or medieval studies.

Persons interested in this work, or knowing others who might be interested, are asked to write to the *Secretary, Medieval Latin Dictionary Committee, Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2*, who will be glad to supply further information.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PAPYROLOGISTS

A conference of papyrologists under the chairmanship of Professor Pierre Jouguet was held at Brussels from 28th–30th August, 1947. It was decided to reconstitute the International Committee of Papyrology, which before the war had been responsible for organizing biennial Congresses of Papyrology, as follows :—

1. *Honorary Presidents* : Messrs Eitrem, Jouguet, Sir Frederick Kenyon, Signorina Norsa, Messrs Schubart, Wengert, Westermann.

President : Sir Harold Bell.

Members of Committee : Messrs Boak, Calderini, Guéraud, Henne, Hoeg, Kiessling, Lewis, Manteuffel, Martin, Petropoulos, Skeat, Van Groningen.

Secretary : M. Hombert.

2. It was also decided to hold the next International Congress of Papyrology in Paris in 1949.

3. The principal achievement of the discussions, however, was the decision to form an *International Association of Papyrologists*, of which the International Committee will be the governing body. The aims of the Association are to foster international co-operation in papyrology and to promote the progress of the science by undertaking the publication and revision of essential works of reference and other *subsidia* essential to the papyrologist. As a first step, it is hoped to make arrangements for the continuation of the *Sammelbuch* and *Berichtungsliste*.

4. It is hoped that not only all Greek, Demotic and Coptic papyrologists but also workers in other fields who are interested in papyrology will join the Association. Students will be welcomed.

Candidates for membership in the British Isles will be proposed by myself, as the British member of the Committee, and a two-thirds majority of the Committee will be necessary for election. I should be grateful therefore if anyone who is in sympathy with the aims of the Association and is desirous of joining would communicate with me at the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, London, W.C.1 as soon as possible. The annual subscription, which will be payable from 1st January, 1948, will be 100 Belgian francs (about 11s 6d sterling).

I am making enquiries from the Bank of England Foreign Exchange Control to ascertain whether there will be any difficulties in transferring these subscriptions to Brussels.

5. All the above arrangements are of necessity provisional only, pending the Congress of 1949, when members will be asked formally to approve the constitution of the Association. Until then the administrative work connected with the Association will be undertaken by the *Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth* at Brussels. A list of members, and other announcements concerning the Association will appear in the *Chronique d'Égypte*.

T. C. SKEAT.

Reviews

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH CLOCKS. By R. W. SYMONDS. *King Penguin*, 1947.

Few people interested in old things remain unmoved at the sight of what appears to be a well-appointed history of clocks, provided there are plenty of good illustrations and plates. But of those who take their subject seriously how many could be blamed for inattention upon hearing that a work of this kind had been boiled down to a King Penguin? The popular manuals of F. J. Britten, R. T. Gould and others are short enough, but R. W. Symonds has attempted it. With half the volume taken up by a fine selection of invaluable plates, could the text be much more than a précis? Surprising though it may seem, this new book gives us far more than we had any right to expect. The author's genius is revealed in an amazing *multum in parvo* work; he has delved far into the antiquity of the clock and brought out some novel and many time-worn facts in an interesting style.

In any book about English clocks Henry VIII's interest in horology should certainly be described, along with the gradual rise to prosperity from that period onwards of the English clock-maker as opposed to the previous success of continental intruders. R. W. Symonds covers all this well and truly. But even though Kretzer, friend of Holbein and Erasmus, was a foreigner at Oxford, as Henry's 'deviser of the King's horologies', a plate of Holbein's portrait of Kretzer followed by perhaps the well-known portraits of Tompion and Harrison might have been more fitting than some of the German and other foreign clocks which appear.

The middle of the 16th century marks the period when England began to draw the attention of the outer world to her horological geniuses, and R. W. Symonds is unequivocal about this; but a glance at the seventy-two plates reveals quite a few intruders from abroad which at first seem rather out of place. Nevertheless it would be inconclusive to tell the story of English Clocks pictorially without illustrating some continental types, the precursors of the well-known English masterpieces of Knibb, Tompion, Quare, Graham, Harrison and others, of which a fine array is presented in the superb plates. They alone are worth two-shillings and sixpence. A. THOMPSON-ALLEN.

A TOMB OF THE NECROPOLIS OF AYIOS ERMOYENIS AT KOURION.

By GEORGE H. MCFADDEN. *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 50, pp. 449-89.

This article by Mr George McFadden describes the excavation of the Ayios Ermoyenis necropolis about a mile from Kourion (the famous Kourion in Cyprus, though this is only apparent by an inference from the footnotes and it was not until I reached the signature that I knew that the University Museum under whose auspices the excavation was carried out was that of Pennsylvania). The excavations were opened on the first of April 1940 and resumed the following year. 'Of 95 pits sunk' says the excavator 'nine disclosed tombs with burials and tomb gifts; eleven came upon tombs either previously excavated or rifled of which some were cleaned without results; the rest were abandoned before reaching the floors, either because they showed every mark of recent disturbance, or as with Pits 57 and 59 because water was reached, making further excavation impracticable. Pits 10, 24, 64, 66, 70, 73 and 86 disclosed plain monolithic sarcophagi, all Roman. Of these that in Pit 64 yielded no finds; the rest remain to be opened'.

It sounds rather disquieting that the excavation of a tomb should be at once abandoned when it shewed signs of 'recent disturbance' but perhaps I am doing the excavators an injustice and the words 'recent disturbance' cover something more violent and thoroughgoing than they suggest to me.

'The tombs are hewn out of bedrock either a soft calcareous sandstone or a conglomerate known to the local Cypriots as *chavara* and *ammo-tsakillo* respectively'. Here I think the author must be indulging in the grammatical figure *chiasmus* for surely '*chavara*' must=conglomerate and '*ammo-tsakillo*'=sandstone. An entrance passage or *dromos*, usually long and narrow, led from the upper level of bedrock or from a vertical outcrop down to the burial chamber or group of chambers. A simple unroofed *dromos* was filled in after the burial, and dug out again if the tomb was re-used. A roofed *dromos* was left empty without refill. This practice seems to have been general in the Aegean area, and is well illustrated by McFadden's figure 7, and in tomb 8 the pit of a tomb robber was traced, sunk 6 metres deep in the 8 metres deposit.

The larger tombs had a long period of use, for pottery of the 3rd (Tombs 5 and 8) or the early 2nd century B.C. (Tomb 1) is found in the same chambers with burials of the 1st century A.D. That the roof collapsed in some tombs considerably later than the period of the last burials is illustrated in the chamber of Tomb 1 by a coin of Probus (A.D. 276-282) which has no relation with any burial . . .'. Similarly in the ante-chamber of Tomb 8 was a late sarcophagus containing the ribbed pottery of Constantinian times, a clay lamp (Broneer's type xxvii) a coin of Constantine II, four gold earrings, and some human bones. The author suggests that this and the other tombs in the vicinity may have collapsed owing to the earthquake which devastated Kourion in the second quarter of the 4th century A.D. He believes that there was always some mark or monument at or near the entrance where the family and friends might bring offerings for the dead. The most imposing example of this practice was in Pit 64 which had a family shrine or heroon, in ashlar masonry, flanking the entrance to a large *dromos*, dating from the 3rd century B.C., in the form of a small *cella* mounted on a platform of three steps, and walled by *orthostats* with moulded base of Ionic form.

The outcrops of rock were usually very steep and strengthened by terrace walls. It is interesting to note that the masons of these structures seem to have employed a unit of .08467 m; the equivalent of a palm or what Sir Flinders Petrie called the 'northern' or 'Germanic' foot, and that the particular variety used here was also employed in Asia Minor, Greece, Roman Africa, on the Kahun rods and the Stambuli cubit. (The same unit was employed in the Villa Dionysus which I partially excavated at Knossos in 1935, a building of the 3rd century A.D. with a 1st century predecessor). The first burial in the earliest tomb opened (Tomb 9) was dated by its excavator, Miss Virginia Grace, in the 4th century B.C.

Tomb 8, which Mr McFadden describes in great detail contained five burials. The earliest of these Burials 2 and 3 in the ante-chamber are assigned to the second half of the 3rd century B.C. to which the two skeletons and six vases should belong. Two Rodian amphorae, however and a fragment of a Roman barbotine pot must be later intrusions, possibly thrown out of the main chamber to make room for the Augustan burials 4 and 5.

Burial 4 consisted of 3 skeletons to the right of the entrance into the main chamber with the skulls apparently *in situ* towards the doorway. Associated with skeleton c was a pair of gold beaded earrings (115, 116) some gold leaf, a silver spoon (136) and lamp with volute nozzle (92, 93). Another Augustan lamp belonged to this burial, and probably also jugs 50 and 51, bowl 82, the gold drop earring (skeleton A) and spindle wheels

(145-147). Other finds probably not belonging to this burial were some glass beads (left over from an earlier burial) two fragments of barbotine pots and a moulded, honey-coloured glass bowl, belonging perhaps to the central burial which lay between 4 and 5, and which had been thrown out to make room for more recent burials.

Associated with this central group of skeletons, were a pair of gold earrings each with a single barrel-shaped bead strung on it, some gold leaf and two barbotine pots (79 and 80). This suggests to the author that probably all the barbotine vases belonged to these burials which may have been shifted on the biers into the centre to make room for Burial 4. A similar earring found at Marion was assigned to the 'Hellenistic I period'.

Burial 5 on the left of the doorway as one enters, contained the best-preserved skeleton and a few bones of another at a slightly higher level. Associated with it were a Rodian amphora (63) jugs 48 and 49 a casserole lid (90), and an unguentarium (74). Jugs 46 and 48 and the little amphora 66 probably belonged though found at a slightly higher level above some sand. Mr McFadden suggests that they floated up during a flooding of the tomb and later settled on the silt. The glass bottle 101, also high, but with no silt under it, probably does not belong.

Burial 1 in the antechamber was the latest of the burials and contained a child's burial with 2 water pitchers, 3 lamps and some glass of a clear, blown fabric, all dating apparently from the latter part of the 1st century A.D.

Some of the most interesting objects from Tomb 8 were not definitely associated with any of the burials. A bronze strigil of Roman type, with the broad part of the ring ending in two wrought hounds' heads, was found in an early dromos fill, together with a stone pallet, a lead pyxis and two clay lamps (Broneer type XIX). From strata 2 and 3 (Augustan pits and later water wash) comes a fine bronze juglet (129). Finally an alabaston of Egyptian alabaster (calcium carbonate) was found lying on stratum 5 (the crushed sandstone laid down between 200 and 50 B.C.).

Mr McFadden ends with a good and careful register of the finds from Tomb 8 but it seems a pity that like most Levantine archaeologists (myself included) he has not always correlated his finds with those of the better dated finds in the West. It is not always possible, of course; Western types are often missing in the Levant and *vice versa* but the efforts of Mr Harden on Levantine glass and of Mr Iliffe on Eastern sigillata show the possibilities of such a correlation.

R.W.H.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ONOMASTICA. By ALAN H. GARDINER. (Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1947). 2 vols. text 1 vol. plates. Preface XXI pp., Introduction 68 pp., Autotyped text 494 pp., numerous Indexes, 8 figs. in text and 6 sketch maps. 13 collotype plates, 23 manuscript plates and 4 supplementary plates. Ordinary edn. £5 5s. nett, £6 6s. nett with supplementary plates. 10½ × 6½ and 15 × 11 inches.

The book deals primarily with the Onomasticon of Amenope of which pieces of nine different copies are known, but of them the Golenischeff Papyrus is the only one that is nearly complete. There is little doubt that Amenope wrote his book about 1100 B.C. It was not a new idea of his for the Ramesseum Onomasticon was written about 1750 B.C. and is a similar list but not the same.

It will no doubt come as a surprise to the general reader that among their other accomplishments the ancient Egyptians had already so early had the idea of producing an encyclopaedia. But so it is. It was nearly seven hundred years later that Amenope produced a much enlarged work. His book clearly appealed to a wide public, for the fragments of the nine copies which we have all date from his time or soon afterwards.

The heading which Amenope gives to his collection of information is illuminating. It runs, 'Beginning of the Teaching for clearing the mind, for instruction of the ignorant and for learning all things that exist: what Ptah created, what Thoth copied down, heaven with its affairs, earth and what is in it, what the mountains belch forth, what is watered by the flood, all things upon which Rê has shone, all that is grown on the back of the earth, excogitated by the scribe of the sacred books in the House of Life, Amenope, son of Amenope. He said:—'. However, as could only be expected from such early beginnings as are these compilations, the contents are not so encyclopaedic as the authors would no doubt have liked to have made them. In fact the author of the Ramesseum Onomasticon says at the end that there ought to have been 343 items, but he has only got down 323. But by the time of Amenope the scope had been enlarged, so that the largest fragment of the copies which have been preserved includes 610 items.

The subject matter is classified into groups generally with headings in red ink, though it is sometimes difficult to see why a certain word should have been included where it is. In the Ramesseum Onomasticon every tenth line is numbered. These works are not encyclopaedias in our sense of the word, for no information is given. They are merely classified lists of names, whence the title which Dr Gardiner has given them 'Onomastica'.

On the other hand the publication before us has definitely been made into an encyclopaedia of modern Egyptological knowledge concerning everything which Amenope mentions. Much of it is of course only for the Egyptologist, but fortunately a large part consists of lists of the towns of Egypt and of foreign peoples, and the discussion of these and their identification occupies the major portion of the book.

Dr Gardiner points out that Elephantine in the First Cataract was not considered as part of Egypt but as an outpost in Nubia. To this we may add that this accords with geological and ethnological fact. In the first place the sandstone of which Nubia consists does not stop at the First Cataract, but comes 43 miles further north where it forms the great cliffs at Silsilah. Then, it is only 15 miles south of Silsilah, at Daraw, that the Nubian language begins and the colour of the people becomes noticeably darker. In fact there is evidence that once there was a cataract at Silsilah, and that in proto-dynastic times this place formed the southern boundary of Egypt.

It is evidence of the permanence of conditions in Egypt that in the beginning the men policing the desert were recruited from a Nubian tribe. Today the Frontiers Administration is manned by smartly uniformed Sudanys who make a splendid sight as they come jogging along the edge of the desert on their magnificent camels.

As for the great ring-wall at Heliopolis, it would have been better to have left in its oblivion a theory that it was a retaining wall for the well-known sacred mound of sand at that city. To have made such a suggestion is to overlook the size of the place, some 400 yards across internally. It is also to overlook the fact that if it were filled up with sand the lowest eleven feet of the obelisk would have been buried. Moreover, who should have emptied out so vast an accumulation of sand, and what has become of it? The place has never been a mound of sand, but, as Petrie originally realized, it was a Hyksos fort like the one at Tell el Yahudiyah which is entirely similar even as to size. Other such forts have now been found in Syria and even Transcaspia.

The name of the country so well-known to Egyptologists as Nahrin is clearly formed on the Semitic *nahar* 'river'. Nahrin is, however, not the dual that it looks, and so has no reference to two rivers. The country lay along the eastern bank of the Euphrates and during the Eighteenth Dynasty Nahrin was definitely the usual Egyptian name for Mitanni, the kingdom which at that time was so powerful. Later on the name was extended to include the country as far towards the Orontes as Aleppo.

REVIEWS

Another name well-known to Egyptologists is Khor, or as it has generally been called Kharu, and this is accepted as being the same as the Horites of the Bible, and the Khurrians the important non-Semitic people of north Syria and Mesopotamia who have only been discovered in recent years. However, it was not the far north which the Egyptians called Khor but Palestine and Syria. It is probable that the Khurrians had formed a large part of the mysterious Hyksos invaders of Egypt and that when they were finally expelled they left refugees scattered throughout these southern countries.

Yet another name of general interest is 'Apiru'. It has long been suspected that this was the same as 'ebri' 'Hebrew', and as that of the Khabiru of the Tell el Amarnah Letters. It is now found that Amenhotep II (1447-1420 B.C.) carried off 3600 of them in Palestine, so that Hebrews of some sort had entered that country more than a generation at least before the walls of Jericho fell at the sound of Joshua's trumpets shortly after 1400 B.C.

A northern people who have exercised the ingenuity of students are the Sherden, perhaps the most important of the 'Raiders' who troubled the Levant until finally crushed by Ramesses III, c. 1190 B.C. They are recognized at once by their horned helmets with a central knob and by their great broadswords. Such swords and statuettes with similar helmets have now been found in the Caucasus. This is the first real evidence for the homeland of the Sherden, and brings in its train another surprising piece of information. The Egyptian monuments describe these people and their northern companions as circumcised, and this custom of the Caucasian Sherden tallies with Herodotus' statement that the people of Colchis, also in the Caucasus, were circumcised. Here we may ask whether it was due to the presence of the Sherden and their fellows that already by the 15th and 14th centuries circumcision was practised at Ugarit (Ras Shamra) some distance south of the mouth of the Orontes. We may add also that the discovery that the Sherden originated in the Caucasus throws into relief another case of history repeating itself. These people were employed in Egypt as fighting slaves, and it was in the Middle Ages that slaves from the Caucasus were again enlisted as soldiery. The most famous of these Mamelukes came from Circassia.

In all probability another of the 'Raiders' came from the neighbourhood of the Caucasus. They were the Keshkesh who are likely to have been living on the Black Sea coast to the westward of Colchis.

Yet another of the 'Sea Raiders' were the Dene, hitherto usually called the Danuna. They have regularly been identified with the Danaoi. They appear in the Tell el Amarnah Letters of the early 14th century, which causes Dr Gardiner to doubt the equation. But early though this is, it is surely going too far to say that it is highly unlikely that there were Danaans anywhere near the Syrian coast so early as this. The legend that after the murders of their husbands the daughters of Danaus were condemned to pour water into a bottomless jar is only descriptive of the funerary practices at Ugarit (Ras Shamra) in that very century and the next.

The military prowess of the Medes, i.e. the Persians, sufficiently impressed itself on the Egyptians as to provide the Coptic (late Egyptian) word for 'soldier'.

And so we might go on until the patience of the editor was exhausted with the length of this review. Therefore, it must suffice to notice the splendour of the publication which conforms to the standard that we have come to expect of Dr Gardiner. It is, however, unfortunate that the main portion of the book should have had to be autographed and those pages, instead of those of the printed introduction, marked with a *. Another drawback, as the reviewer finds it, is that these pages are written as a continuous text instead of each item beginning a new line.

ANTIQUITY

It only remains to admire the perfection and clarity of Mr Faulkner's handwriting and his power to copy out 494 pages with apparently no corrections. Mr Fairman's plates of hieroglyphic transcriptions are a model of fine workmanship. It is a well-deserved, but all the same graceful, tribute that has been paid to these devoted labourers that the book has been dedicated to them.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

ROMAN BRITAIN (High Lights of History, no. 1). By R. F. JESSUP, F.S.A. Price 1s 6d.

ROMANS IN BRITAIN (Visual Education Film Strip). By R. F. JESSUP, F.S.A. Price 7s 3d, with teaching notes.

These two publications of the *Daily Mail* School Aid Department have been prepared with much care by the author and the publishers have produced a fully illustrated, bright looking booklet (except for a very dull plate of that somewhat dull material Roman Pottery) and a film strip which consists largely of the same illustrations as those contained in the book.

They are presumably aimed at providing the teacher with material from which to prepare lessons and they contain a great deal of information but somehow it all sounds rather earnest and slightly dull. Much of the present day teaching is, at its best, a second-hand affair, but here is a subject about which it is possible to obtain first-hand information. These publications do not stress the valuable part that field studies and local museums can play in teaching children about Roman Britain.

Indeed, this is one of the great dangers of the film strip as a visual aid. It spoon-feeds the teacher and suggests that, in this case for instance, the story of Roman Britain can be taught in the classroom. The great and exciting stimulus of seeing the object itself instead of just a picture of it and the thrill of perhaps being allowed to handle a piece of Roman pottery is lacking. These School Aid Publications are better than nothing, but they are only a small step forward from the ordinary school text book. Perhaps the editors of this series would consider publishing a school aid memoir on how to use one's local museum and how to do a little field work for oneself.

N.C.

BLANDEBJERG (Fyldekalk imellem Troldebjerg og Lindö). By J. WINTHER. *Rudköbing*, 1943. 48 pp.

M. J. Winther, well-known for his investigation of neolithic sites with houses on the Danish Island, Langeland, here describes the excavation of a third site on the same island (dating from the period of the 'passage-graves'). Although traces were present, and although some appeared to indicate a rectangular plan, no conclusive results were obtained as regards the house-types at Blandebjerg. The pottery as a whole is rather younger than that from Troldebjerg, but a good deal earlier than that from Lindö, and helps in conjunction with that obtained by the National Museum excavations at Trellebjerg, Zealand, and at Bundsö, Als, to complete the sequence of Danish 'passage-grave' pottery recently discussed by Mathiasen in *Acta Archaeologica*, 1944, 77-98.

J.G.D.C.